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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

EDITED BY

SOLON J. BUCK

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

VOL. 2, NO. 1
WHOLE NO. 9
FEBRUARY, 1917

CAPTAIN HENRY A. CASTLE[1]

The good die not—this heritage they leave,
The record of a life well spent.
We know, at parting though we grieve,
A noble life is man's best monument.

Monuments to the dead, although of the most imposing character and designed by the most celebrated artists, serve only to identify the person; they do not commemorate his virtues or exemplify his character. Eulogies pronounced by the most finished orators are but the passing breath of the moment and are soon forgotten. But a monument reared in the hearts of the people by unselfish and noble devotion to God, to country, and to fellow men will endure as long as memory shall last.

In the life of Captain Henry A. Castle these qualities were united in a remarkable degree. He was preëminently a Christian gentleman in every sense of the word—a faithful member of the church from his youth, and one whose profession was exemplified in his daily intercourse with his fellow men. His devotion and loyalty to his country were shown by the sacrifices made in its behalf and by the offering of his life in its defence. Born August 22, 1841, he entered the Civil War in the year 1862, serving as sergeant major of his regiment until the terrible battle of Stone River, in which he was severely wounded. On account of this wound he was discharged as disabled for further service in April, 1863, but notwithstanding this experience and the condition of his health resulting therefrom, he again enlisted in May, 1864, and continued in the army as captain of his company until nearly the close of the war.

Captain Castle came to Minnesota in June, 1866, and sometime in 1868 settled at St. Paul, where he resided until the

[1] A memorial read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, December 11, 1916.

time of his death, which occurred at his summer home at Silver Lake, August 16, 1916. His activities since his arrival in Minnesota are coincident to, and form part of, the history of the state for that period, as he always took an influential and prominent part not only in the affairs of the state, but in the development and advancement of the great Northwest.

In the service of his comrades of the war he was peculiarly active and useful. Soon after reaching Minnesota he inaugurated a campaign for securing aid and an education for the orphans of those soldiers who had given their lives in the defence of their country, and he was largely instrumental in securing the necessary legislation for this purpose and finally in providing a home for these unfortunates at Winona, where the work was continued until it was no longer needed. He was a member of the board of trustees of this organization during the entire period of its existence and took a leading part in its operations. As a direct result of this great work a large number of the orphans of these patriot soldiers, who otherwise might have been left in poverty and ignorance, received care at a time when it was most needed and an education which not only has been of the greatest benefit to themselves, but has resulted in great good to the state; and to-day some of the most influential and useful citizens of Minnesota may be found among those who received aid from this noble charity.

The legislation necessary for the organization of the Minnesota Soldiers' Home was due likewise in a large measure to his efforts, as was also the location of this home upon its beautiful grounds at Minnehaha Falls, although this site was strongly opposed by some. He also took a leading part in securing the passage of an act by the legislature of Minnesota which provides a fund for the aid of soldiers and soldiers' widows at their own homes in all parts of the state, and which has proved beneficial to many unfortunate and deserving people.

Captain Castle aided materially in the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic in Minnesota, and served as commander of the department of Minnesota from 1872 to 1875, the

only member of this department who has been honored with three successive terms. In the year 1870 he organized Acker Post at St. Paul and was its first commander.

Among other activities of like character he helped to obtain the necessary fund for the soldiers' monument erected in Summit Park, St. Paul, and delivered an oration at the time of its dedication that will not soon be forgotten by those who were present on that occasion. An appropriation for the statue of Hon. Henry M. Rice, United States senator from Minnesota during the early part of the war, for the Hall of Fame at Washington was secured through his instrumentality; and it was almost exclusively through his exertions that a statue to the memory of his boyhood hero, General James Shields of Mexican War fame and sometime United States senator for Illinois, Missouri, and Minnesota, was erected in Missouri, a replica of which, also obtained by him, was placed in the Minnesota Capitol.

In his public life Captain Castle was highly honored both by the state and the nation, and in every instance showed himself honest and capable, and well worthy of the honor thus conferred. He served as postmaster at St. Paul for several years, in which capacity he gave general satisfaction. After his term had expired, he was appointed sixth auditor of the United States treasury in the post office department. He filled this position for a considerable period with conspicuous ability, and at the end of his service received the highest commendations from his superior officer.

Captain Castle was elected an annual member of the Minnesota Historical Society in the year 1870, and in November, 1897, while absent at Washington in the discharge of his official duties there, was elected a corresponding member, and was carried on the rolls as such up to the time of his death. He gave a number of memorial and other addresses before the society, and in its library will be found copies of a large number of addresses delivered by him upon notable occasions and before various organizations in the state and elsewhere. He per-

formed a great and valuable service for the state in securing and arranging the historical data which may be found detailed in the three volumes of his admirable work entitled *Minnesota, Its Story and Biography,* and in his *History of St. Paul and Vicinity,* also contained in three volumes.

Among other duties and objects of the historical society is the important one of securing the data and preserving a record of the life and activities of distinguished citizens of the state, not only in relation to those duties performed in a public capacity, but also in recognition of the work done by them in promoting the advancement and upbuilding of our great commonwealth. In keeping this partial and very incomplete record of the life and services of Captain Henry A. Castle the society has performed a service that it owes to the state and to the man, and it deems itself honored in having numbered among its associates a citizen so widely known and highly esteemed.

GIDEON S. IVES

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

RETURN IRA HOLCOMBE[1]

The most eminent surviving historian of Minnesota asked me on the afternoon preceding the funeral of Return Ira Holcombe to present at the next meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society brief notes of his life and work, with a tribute to his ability and painstaking care as a writer of history.

Mr. Holcombe was born in Huntington Township, Gallia County, Ohio, February 24, 1845, and was named Robert Ira, but he changed his first name to Return, which was the name of his grandfather's grandfather, a soldier of Connecticut in the army of the American Revolution. His parents and the family removed to Missouri when he was six years old, and there he received a serviceable education in the district or village school; after the war he attended an academy in Troy, Iowa. In our last conversation, five hours before his death, he told me of having learned "small Latin and less Greek," as one of his favorite old authors, Ben Jonson, wrote of Shakespeare.

During the Civil War Holcombe served on the Union side in the Tenth Missouri Regiment. Ever afterward, throughout his life, he took great interest in all phases of the history of that great war, and much enjoyed fellowship with those who wore the blue in 1861–65, being a member of the Garfield Post of St. Paul, Grand Army of the Republic. But his interest and breadth of sympathy extended also to those who wore the gray; he carefully read their monthly magazine, the *Confederate Veteran,* and collected many articles from newspapers and much information through correspondence concerning the southern side of the war. He was sixteen years of age when that conflict began, and, as the early limit for recruits was

[1] A memorial read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, December 11, 1916.

eighteen years, he entered the service as a drummer boy, later taking a musket as a soldier.

After the war he resumed his school studies for a time; learned the printer's trade, at which he worked about four years; was married and resided several years at Clarinda, Iowa; and engaged as editor of newspapers in Iowa and Missouri. His only child, a daughter named Lillian Maude, was born in 1872, and was married to O. E. McAnulty in 1898. She died September 13, 1916, leaving a little daughter, Lillian Audrey, as her only surviving child.

In Missouri and Kansas Mr. Holcombe became a proficient writer on the staff of various publishers of county and city histories. Two of these large works, in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, on Greene and Marion counties, Missouri, published respectively in 1883 and 1884, he regarded with much satisfaction as examples of his early extensive labors, for many counties, on local histories and biographies.

In the summer of 1888 his publishers, having undertaken to prepare a history of the city of St. Paul, for which General C. C. Andrews was editor, secured the aid of Mr. Holcombe to write several long chapters of that work, which was issued in 1890, and also to gather the data for and write its large and very valuable part 2 (219 pages), comprising 129 biographies of leading St. Paul citizens. From that date his home was in St. Paul, where he did much work as a newspaper writer, especially for the *Pioneer Press* and the *Dispatch,* from 1890 to 1905, with occasional articles in the later years.

For the *Collections* of the Minnesota Historical Society he wrote "A Sioux Story of the War" (volume 6), the narrative by Chief Big Eagle of the Sioux outbreak in 1862, which Holcombe personally received from the chief at Flandreau, South Dakota, through interpreters; explanatory notes appended to the "Narrative of a Friendly Sioux, by Snana, the Rescuer of Mary Schwandt" (volume 9); and several footnotes to "A Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863, by Gabriel Renville" (volume 10). In

another paper of volume 10, "The Work of the Second State Legislature," by General John B. Sanborn, the aid of Mr. Holcombe in its preparation is duly acknowledged.

Through about a year, 1893–94, the Minnesota Historical Society employed Mr. Holcombe as an assistant, to share the general work with Josiah B. Chaney, who had been in charge of the newspaper department since 1887. During this time Holcombe examined and arranged the large collection of letters and other papers received from General Sibley, who had died two years before.

Always greatly interested and exceptionally well informed in all subjects pertaining to the Sioux and the Ojibway, Holcombe was the best qualified investigator and author whom Hon. Charles D. Gilfillan, formerly of St. Paul and later of Redwood County, could find to determine the historical facts and locations of events in the Sioux massacre and war of 1862, and to mark these localities for future generations. Forty years after these thrilling events, through the generous patriotism and direction of Mr. Gilfillan and of a small collaborative society of his near friends, Holcombe wrote a pamphlet entitled *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of the Monuments and Tablets Erected by the Minnesota Valley Historical Society in Renville and Redwood Counties, Minnesota* (Morton, Minnesota, 1902. 79 p.).

Holcombe's most important work for the history of the state is contained in *Minnesota in Three Centuries* (four volumes), published in 1908, for which he wrote the second volume, narrating the history from the building of Fort Snelling to the admission of Minnesota to statehood in 1858, and also the greater part of volume 3, covering the period from 1858 to 1870, to which General Lucius F. Hubbard contributed five chapters covering the records of Minnesota in the Civil War. A second very important service to the state is the *History of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society* (St. Paul, 1910. 405 p.), which is the joint work of Hon. Darwin S. Hall and

R. I. Holcombe. This work is a great contribution to the history of agriculture and of the state fairs.

Through the years 1911 to 1913 Holcombe was mainly employed in research and in writing the *History of the First Minnesota Regiment,* doing this for a committee of the survivors of the regiment; but his completed manuscript was delayed nearly three years and, finally, after some revision by the committee, was published June, 1916 (508 p.).

During his last years he was especially busy, resuming the field of his early writing on city and county histories. Three books largely supplied from his pen during this closing period are entitled as follows: *Compendium of History and Biography of Minneapolis and Hennepin County,* for which he wrote nearly all the historical portion, 179 pages; *Compendium of History and Biography of Carver and Hennepin Counties,* his part therein being 262 pages; and *Compendium of History and Biography of Polk County,* in which Mr. Holcombe wrote 46 pages. He also contributed jointly with Hon. E. E. Corliss, an interesting paper on the earliest settlements in Otter Tail County, published as chapter 3 of the history of that county.

When he died in the evening of November 21, he left practically completed and ready for publication an extensive manuscript *History of McLeod County,* on which he had worked in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society through the summer and autumn. This last work of the veteran author is expected soon to be issued by H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company of Winona, publishers of county histories, with whom Holcombe had been connected during the early years of his literary work in Missouri.

Another veteran Minnesota editor and historian, Captain Henry A. Castle, was accustomed to call into the library occasionally to chat with us, Mr. Holcombe's table and my desk being near together at the west end of the reading room. On the last time of his calling, in midsummer, Captain Castle spoke of his ill health, and took a long look around the room at its

familiar books and portraits, saying he expected never to come again, and a few weeks afterward he died.

Now the Great Leveler has laid low our friend Holcombe. He was always cheerful, and, though having several times during the later years illnesses of a few days or weeks or even months, he had rallied each time to take up anew and gladly his beloved historical studies and writing, without apparent impairment of his mental vigor and ability. On the last day of his life, after being shut in only a few days by the last recurrent illness, he had entertained himself by reading the daily newspapers and some of his favorite books. One that I found him reading that afternoon was the ancient epic narrative by Sir Thomas Malory of the life and death of King Arthur. To us who knew Holcombe's friendly and gallant temperament, what book or line of thought could seem more adapted to his last hours?

Among all whom I have known in historical work, he was the most careful, anxious, and persistent to attain accuracy and truth. He was also the most willing to give freely of his time to any inquirer who might wish to consult him on any historical questions.

In several conversations of former months and years he had told me of his readiness and willingness to go, whenever the final summons should come; that he believed in the future life as taught by the Bible, and that he trusted in the compassionate Saviour for his forgiveness and welcome into Heaven. Let us, too, believe that he is again with those whom he had "loved long since and lost awhile," and so we can cheerfully say, Farewell. As Robert Louis Stevenson wrote for himself,

> Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
> And the hunter home from the hill.

Warren Upham

Minnesota Historical Society
St. Paul

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

MICHELLE DUFAULT

Michelle (Michael) Dufault, one of the oldest residents of the White Earth Reservation, died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Antoine Charrette, December 14, 1916, aged ninety years. He was the son of Joseph Dufault, one of the early artisans of the Northwest, and of Jossette Cadotte, an aunt of William Whipple Warren, the well-known historian of the Chippewa Indians. His father was for many years a boss carpenter; between the years 1820 and 1830 he supervised the construction of the stores and warehouses of the American Fur Company on Madeline Island in Lake Superior, eighteen miles from Bayfield, Wisconsin. He built the mission churches on the island also, one of which, the Presbyterian church, is still standing. The Catholic mission church, which contained a rich and valuable collection of historical manuscripts and old paintings, was destroyed by fire about three years ago.

Michael, the son, was born in 1827 on Madeline Island, at that time included in the territory of Michigan. In his boyhood he attended the Indian mission school. During his early life he helped his father by working at the carpenter's trade and assisted the fur-traders as clerk, interpreter, and messenger. He was a member of the Wisconsin bands of the Chippewa, but removed to the White Earth Reservation many years ago, where he was held in high esteem by all who knew him. He was married to Jossette Roy, a daughter of Vincent Roy, an early Indian trader, who died in Superior, Wisconsin, a few years ago.

In the death of Michael Dufault the Northwest loses one of the few remaining picturesque "noble landmarks" so characteristic of the unstinted, open-hearted hospitality and generous chivalry of early northwestern days, the cherished love-thy-neighbor days, when the latchstring hung on the outside, sug-

gestive of an ever-ready welcome to friends and strangers alike; when the last morsel of food or family raiment was cheerfully divided with those who were in need, and when a man's word was his bond. He was an exemplary Christian, devoted to his family and friends and to things righteous. He was a member of the Catholic Church and was ever zealous in his religious duties up to the time of his death.

THEODORE H. BEAULIEU

WHITE EARTH, MINNESOTA

A LAWYER'S VIEW OF THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE

That the truth or falsity of the inscription on the Kensington rune stone will ever be proved to the satisfaction of all investigators is very doubtful. The available evidence is too meager to admit of a final solution of the problem in accordance with the canons of historical criticism. Interest in the subject continues unabated, however, and justifies the publication of the following argument by Mr. Charles C. Willson of Rochester, Minnesota. In a letter accompanying the manuscript Mr. Willson states that, as a member of the Minnesota Historical Society, he is "not content to rest under the presumption" that he agrees with the conclusion of the museum committee of the society as set forth in its report in volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections*.

MR. OLE W. ANDERSON.

DEAR DOCTOR:

On November 8, 1898, on the farm of Olof Ohman on the southeast quarter of section fourteen, Solem Township, Douglas County, Minnesota, about three miles northeast from Kensington, was found a slab of flinty rock with an inscription in runic letters cut into it, which, literally translated, reads as follows:

"Eight Goths and twenty-two Norwegians upon a journey of discovery from Vinland westward. We had a camp by two skerries one day's journey north from this stone. We were out fishing one day. When we returned home we found ten men red with blood and dead. A V M, save us from evil.

"Have ten men by the sea to look after our vessel fourteen days' journey from this island. Year 1362."

In the fall of 1866 the first railroad to the north or west from St. Paul was completed to St. Cloud. At that city extensive quarries of granite were opened and large quantities of their products have since been manufactured and sold. Some years over half a million dollars have been realized. Many of the quarrymen and stonecutters have been emigrants from Norway, some with a fairly liberal education and no doubt familiar with the runic alphabet. In 1879 the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad was completed to Ortonville at the foot of Big-stone Lake, where other granite quarries were subsequently opened and extensively worked with employees of like origin and attainments.

In the region to the north of Kensington, in Pope, Douglas, and Otter Tail counties, are more than fifty lakes, each exceeding a hundred acres in extent, and all of the purest water and abounding in fish. There are no stones in position. The surface is about two hundred feet higher than at St. Cloud or Ortonville, where the valleys are down to primitive rock. The subsoil is clay, holding the rainwater and making these lakes possible. Some have outlets running eastward into the Mississippi; the outlets of others flow westward into the Red River of the North. Most of the lakes are smaller now than they once were, as their outlets have worn deeper channels through the clay subsoil. On their banks in the fishing season many people from St. Cloud and from Ortonville have been accustomed to camp and fish and spend an unconventional outing, sleeping in tents or in wagons and enjoying primitive life. Among them those Norwegian stonecutters were not wanting.

Doctor, you are well aware that your countrymen in Minnesota hold with tenacity to the legendary belief that the old vikings discovered North America before Columbus and that they give credence to every seeming corroborating circumstance. Some St. Cloud or Ortonville stonecutter could easily have fashioned this Kensington stone in his home shop from observations made on previous fishing trips, and, on his next trip, have taken it out and planted it, set out a tree over it, and so disposed the whole that, when the land came to be cleared off and plowed, the stone would

be discovered and would become seemingly a further evidence of early Norse exploration of this region. In the higher schools in Norway the runic alphabet is well known. It can be found even in the larger English dictionaries.[1] Some of the stonecutters in these granite quarries at St. Cloud and Ortonville were no doubt familiar with the characters, and were capable, with their engraving tools, of cutting the inscription upon the stone. To some men such a trick would seem a pleasant and innocent diversion. It appears likely, then, that the Kensington stone had some such origin.

While this stone was in the rooms of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul, I carefully examined it. Its straight unweathered surface, its sharp corners, its length as compared with its thickness, all seem to testify to a modern separation from its original situs. It had not been weathered and rounded like the bowlders of the glacial period found in the vicinity. It is said that there are no other stones like it in texture, shape, and scant weathering in the region of those lakes.

In the fall of 1868, accompanied by William McCullough and Rodney Whitney, I went to St. Cloud and obtained from the United States land office plats of several townships on the southern and eastern borders of this undinal region. We employed an explorer with his team, covered wagon, dog and gun, filled his tin-lined chest with boiled ham, roast chicken, bread, pies, cake, canned fruit, and coffee, and went northwest over the unbroken prairie. For a week we lived out of doors. We ate from our store, standing around our wagon, and at night slept under it, rolled in buffalo robes.

We selected fifty quarter sections located up and down the prairie and returned to the land office and entered them with agricultural college scrip issued to the state of Connecticut and sold by it for less than one hundred dollars a quarter section. To-day two or three acres of that land are worth as much as Connecticut got for one hundred and sixty. Our teamster and others at St. Cloud in the summer were engaged in the business of taking fishing, hunting, and land-seeking parties out to this lake region, and in the winter were employed in the pineries to

[1] *The Century Dictionary,* 8: 5273 (1913 ed.).

the east on Rum River hauling logs to the streams to be floated out in the spring freshets. My observations, made during that week, lead me to believe that the Kensington stone was not brought by glaciers or other natural processes to the vicinity where it was found in 1898, but that it came there by wagon from St. Cloud or Ortonville. I saw no stones similar to it in shape, character, or scant weathering on that outing.

Advocates of the authenticity of this runic inscription generally agree that the twenty explorers could not have come by a route other than by Hudson Bay. Professor George Bryce of Winnipeg, in his history of the Hudson's Bay Company, says: "The swampy treeless flats that surrounded the Bay simply change from the frozen snow-clad expanse which stretches as far as the eye can see in winter, to the summer green of the unending grey willows and stunted shrubs that cover the swampy shores. For a few open months the green prevails, and then nature for eight months assumes her winding sheet of icy snow."[2] The whole country south and west of Hudson Bay for more than two hundred miles is alternately swamps and barren rocks. It remains to this day for the most part untraversed and unknown. Those twenty explorers in the year 1362 could have come to Kensington only by ascending the Nelson River in rowboats about four hundred miles to Lake Winnipeg and thence south up that lake two hundred and fifty miles to its head, and from that point, after hiding their boats in the willows, by pushing on toward the south over the level prairie three hundred miles. Lake Winnipeg is over six hundred feet above the sea and the Nelson River is swift and turbulent, running in a rocky and tortuous channel, with a fall of six hundred feet in four hundred miles. No other river of like volume on the continent makes so great a fall in so short a distance. The Mississippi makes no greater in its two thousand miles from Lake Pepin to the Gulf of Mexico. If the Kensington inscription be genuine, these twenty men ascended that river, rowed up the lake, and marched south, leaving near a thousand miles between them and their vessel at the sea, which the inscription states was only fourteen days'

[2] George Bryce, *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 373 (Toronto, 1900).

journey back. How did these men subsist? They could have brought in rowboats up the swift current of the river and over the lake no surplus food for their sojourn on the prairie and for the return voyage. They could have had only the spear and the bow and arrows for game. Firearms had not at that time been invented. No experienced army officer would admit that twenty men could make the return journey in fourteen days or subsist, while traveling through such a country, by hunting and fishing.

Ten of the explorers were found dead in their camp near two isolated bowlders. They were presumably murdered by savages while the other ten were away fishing. Instead of retreating towards their ship, the ten survivors continued a day's journey to the south, heedless of savage enemies, and employed the time in engraving on this flinty stone. The savages no doubt plundered the camp and carried away arms, clothing, and equipment, and watched for the return of the fishermen with the desire to slay them also. Yet the survivors go a day's journey farther into this hostile country. The instinct of self-preservation seems to have been suspended.

These adventurers must have carried engraving tools with them through all their vicissitudes, and the ten survivors must have taken the steels with them on the fishing excursion so that they did not fall into the hands of the savages who plundered the camp. Can it be that among these ten hardy adventurers there were one or more scholars, who were skilled in stone engraving as well? At that early date not one man in a hundred was able to read and write.

The expedition for discovery from Vinland westward must have been provided with a staunch sea-going vessel fitted out with food and maritime supplies, a crew enlisted, and their wages secured. Some patron must have incurred this expense with a purpose of planting a colony, discovering ores, or seeking some other means of gaining profit. The king was usually such a patron, and a memorial left in the land discovered or explored would not fail to state the name of the king or other patron and of the vessel and its captain and to claim sovereignty by right of discovery. Nothing of this character appears upon the Kensington stone. Those explorers of 1362 could have had no other pur-

pose in raising this stone than to engrave on it some or all of these details. The absence of such information can not be accounted for if the inscription be genuine. For more than two hundred years prior to 1362 runic letters had gone out of common use. In the eleventh century the Roman alphabet succeeded them in Norse literature. Why should these ten surviving explorers engrave this stone in characters no longer in use? In the stress of their circumstances it seems highly improbable that they should spend days cutting an inscription or make use of letters long forgotten in order to inform posterity of their visit to these lakes.

More than five hundred years elapsed between the date of the supposed engraving upon this stone and its discovery in 1898. The inscription is cut not over a quarter of an inch in depth, yet it remains nearly as clear and distinct as if it had been made but twenty years ago; not a word or even a letter is blurred. In New England, where the weather conditions are similar to those in Minnesota, inscriptions on tombstones exposed for one hundred years are very much effaced and often illegible. Repeated freezing and thawing and the action of acids in the decaying surface soil in which the Kensington stone was found should, in five hundred years, have utterly obliterated all inscriptions upon it. Volume 15 of the *Minnesota Historical Collections* contains an excellent two-page half-tone reproduction of a photograph of the Kensington stone, showing the clear preservation of the inscription.

When a seed brought by the wind from its parent tree lodges in congenial soil and feels the warmth and moisture of spring, it germinates and sends one sprout up into the air and another down into the soil. If either meets obstruction, it does not divide and part go around on one side and part on the other. The whole goes to the one side or the other, and this rule of vegetable development operates as uniformly below the surface as above. If either sprout be severed, the young tree may die or two or more shoots may start out to take the office of the severed part. When the Kensington stone was discovered in 1898, a poplar tree five or six inches in diameter was growing above it with two main roots of equal dimensions, one at either side. A reproduction of a pencil sketch of these roots is shown in the report published

by the Minnesota Historical Society.[3] To one familiar with tree culture the presumption is strong that this poplar tree had been transplanted fifteen or twenty years before the stone was discovered, the central root cut out, and small lateral branches trained to either side of the stone to grow in rivalry for the office of the severed central part. The poplar tree is of rapid growth and short life, and there is nothing to indicate that this tree had its origin earlier than the fishing visits of the stonecutters from Ortonville and St. Cloud.

Knowing of my fifty years' experience in the trial of questions of fact before juries, you have asked my impressions of the Kensington stone. I have now tersely stated some of the principal facts that the evidence furnishes, and indicated my opinion. I submit the case for your verdict.

CHARLES C. WILLSON

ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA, February 26, 1917

RELATIONS WITH WESTERN CANADA

The discovery of the papers of Consul James W. Taylor and the publication of a sketch of his career in the BULLETIN for November, 1915, threw a new light upon certain phases of the relations between the United States and western Canada. The following address of the Pioneers of Rupert's Land to Consul General Jones, on the occasion of his departure from Winnipeg in 1913, tells of the close connections and friendly relations between the pioneers of the old Hudson's Bay territories and those of Minnesota, and shows the interlocking of the economic development of the two regions. It was prepared by Mr. Isaac Cowie of Winnipeg, secretary of the association, who came to western Canada in 1867 as an apprentice clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. Cowie is well versed in the history of the western country and has written a narrative of his seven years' service with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Qu'Appelle, from 1867 to 1874, entitled *The Company of Adventurers* (Toronto, 1913). Dr. John Edward Jones, to

[3] *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15: 245.

whom the address was delivered, entered the United States consular service in 1905 with an appointment as consul at Dalny, Manchuria. From 1907 to 1913 he represented the United States at Winnipeg, being transferred in September of the latter year to Genoa, Italy. Since June, 1915, he has held the post of consul at Lyon, France.

WINNIPEG, September 9, 1913

DR. J. E. JONES, American Consul General,
Winnipeg.

DEAR CONSUL GENERAL:

We, the Pioneers of Rupert's Land, an association of the white settlers who came to the Hudson's Bay territories prior to their union with the Dominion of Canada, have heard with regret that you are about to be removed by your government to a sphere of more importance to your country, but to the great loss of the hosts of friends you have made here in western Canada. We can not therefore let the occasion pass without expressing our feelings towards our neighbors in your country and towards yourself.

The Pioneers of Rupert's Land owe a very old debt of gratitude to their brother pioneers of the old northwestern territory of Minnesota, for until they advanced the frontiers of civilization we had to rely upon the annual ships coming to Hudson Bay and birch-bark canoes coming from Montreal for the necessities of existence which our country itself did not produce. Even our mails came but once in summer by canoe and once in winter by dog train from Sault Sainte Marie. To obtain the live stock needed for the formation of a prosperous settlement on the Red River the Hudson's Bay Company sent men from Fort Garry to purchase sheep in far-off Kentucky, and herds of cattle were bought in American frontier settlements and brought in by the early colonists to Red River, while others were driven in for sale by adventurous Americans themselves.

Free traders from Red River began to go to St. Louis with their furs, and travelers found their way to the east in their company. Later St. Peter's,[4] near the present site of St. Paul,

[4] Now Mendota.

became the terminus. As the embryo town of St. Paul obtained better steamboat facilities on the Mississippi, its trade with the settlers increased, and larger and larger "brigades" of their quaint wooden carts resorted thereto yearly. To supplement the services of these carts, enterprising Americans drew the machinery of the steamboat "Anson Northup" across the watershed from the Mississippi and placed it on her hull on the Red River. Next, in May, 1862, the Hudson's Bay steamboat "International," built at Georgetown, 133½ tons register, began to ply on the international waters of the Red River, and inaugurated the period of steam and flatboating before railways reached the frontier and finally St. Boniface, when the whole country, except the Hudson's Bay posts on or near the bay itself, depended for passenger and freight traffic entirely upon the facilities afforded by our good friends and neighbors in Minnesota and Dakota.

Concurrently with these continually improving means of traffic the postal system of the United States was extended, and gladly taken advantage of by the isolated settlement north of the boundary. In 1853 a regular monthly mail service was begun between Fort Garry and Fort Ripley, then the farthest advanced United States post-office. In 1857 Pembina became an American post-office, at which the monthly and afterwards the bimonthly mail accommodation was received or dispatched by the Red River couriers. In 1862 the United States gave Pembina a biweekly service, and a weekly one to Fort Garry immediately followed. The courier who carried this weekly mail traveled on horseback in summer, and in winter with a train of dogs, receiving for the round trip (seventy miles each way) the sum of six dollars and twenty-five cents, while the postmaster at Fort Garry enjoyed a salary of one hundred dollars a year. To defray the expense of the service between Fort Garry and Pembina a charge was made of two cents for a letter under one-half ounce, one cent for each newspaper, and four cents for each magazine, payable in cash, in addition to the American postage. Advantage was obtained also of the American telegraphic system as it advanced.

Under these circumstances the mutually beneficial trade and traffic between the Red River settlement and St. Paul increased and multiplied annually. And this trade was practically free, being restricted by a customs duty of only four per cent on the net invoice of dutiable goods entering the settlement, while books,

supplies for missions, agricultural implements and seeds, stoves, and several other things entered free. At the same time the American government permitted imports to Red River from other countries to come through in bond.

The friendly feelings fostered by this free intercourse found material expression when, in the winter of 1868–69, the Red River colony found itself face to face with famine, caused by the devastations of locusts, which destroyed every green thing, simultaneously with the failure of the buffalo hunt, all other game, and the fisheries. A relief fund was raised amounting to $32,500, exclusive of $8,000 voted by the government of the colony, and of the former amount England contributed $15,000, Canada $13,000, while the United States sent $4,500. And it was from St. Paul that the flour and seed grain, upon which the contributions were chiefly expended, could be and were obtained.

Such, then, are the obligations of the people of Rupert's Land to the United States, and no one who has not been a pioneer in the wilderness can, in these days of railways everywhere, appreciate the benefits so received. Besides these, there were the hearty hospitality and fair dealing with which the people of St. Paul met the visitors from Red River, resulting in life-long personal friendships, which still endure among the few survivors of those happy days of yore.

But not content with giving us the free benefit of their trade and traffic facilities, the American people sent into our midst to represent them a man who was an apostle of peace and good will, and a prophet of progress, who saw, with eyes undimmed with prejudice and in the light of science, a vision of the wonders of the Canadian West which have been revealed to its inhabitants and to the world at large only during the present generation. Versed in the science of botany, gifted with eloquent tongue and a pen which proved mightier than any other individual influence in dispelling the clouds of calumny which had enveloped the prairies now known as the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and had hidden their possibilities for producing the superabundance of cereals now being witnessed, was your remarkable predecessor, United States Consul James W. Taylor.

A lover of wild flowers, he himself was one of the finest flowers of the culture and intelligence of the United States. The

affable and approachable friend of high and low, rich and poor, mingling with our joy and sharing in our sorrow, equally zealous in all good works for the benefit of the great country he represented and the great unknown country in which he then took up his abode, Consul Taylor still further strengthened the bonds of friendship and good will between the people of Manitoba and Minnesota. And when the hour of danger came by the menace on our frontiers, it was he who influenced the authorities at Washington to order the troops under the gallant Colonel Wheaton to disperse and capture the raiders.

We regarded the premature passing away of our good old friend Consul Taylor as a public calamity; but fortunately for western Canada the American government again sent us of her best, and in you, who have trodden in the footsteps of your brilliant predecessor and, amid the ever quickly changing circumstance of the day, have been an ambassador of progress, peace, and good will, we recognize a worthy successor to our honored friend.

While unwilling to part with one who has publicly and socially and personally, apart from the Taylor tradition, won for himself our lasting respect and friendship, we hope and trust that your next step in the service of your great and mighty nation may be one to which the brilliant talents you have displayed as consul general in Winnipeg point you out as eminently fitted to fill with advantage to the country to which you may go as well as that from which you are sent.

Our very heartiest and best wishes will follow you and your family wherever you may go, and in memory we will couple the friendship we have enjoyed with you with that of our never forgotten friend Consul Taylor.

We remain, dear Consul General, your sincere friends,

THE PIONEERS OF RUPERT'S LAND per
Wm. Clark, Vice-President
Retired Chief Factor, Hudson's Bay Company
R. MacFarlane, Retired Chief Factor
W. J. McLean, Retired Chief Trader
T. H. Smith
Ex-member, Manitoba Legislative Assembly
Isaac Cowie, Secretary

THE GENESIS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MINNESOTA

The demand for the organization of a new anti-slavery party, following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in May, 1854, was most urgent in the region of the Old Northwest. On July 6, in a state mass meeting made up of Whigs, anti-slavery Democrats, and Free-Soilers, Michigan gave the name Republican to the party whose formal organization was effected at this convention. Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana followed on July 13 with mass meetings taking similar action; while in Illinois and Iowa the same results were attained by the union of Whigs and Free-Soilers on state tickets. Minnesota was slow in joining the movement. Settlers were pouring into the territory in large numbers, and people were too much occupied in establishing themselves in their new homes to evince much concern over national politics. The majority of the voters belonged to the Democratic Party, but in the territorial elections the various elements divided on the basis of local or personal rather than national issues. On July 4, 1854, a small group of men in and around St. Anthony, who called themselves "friends of freedom," and who had been prominently affiliated with the Democratic and Whig parties, met informally at the schoolhouse. The meeting was dominated by such radical abolitionists as Rev. Charles Gordon Ames, who acted as secretary, and John W. North, who presided, both of St. Anthony.[5] A territorial committee, composed of Luke Marvin of St. Paul, John W. North, and John S. Mann of Minneapolis, was appointed to call a meeting, at such time and place as should seem proper, of the people of Minnesota who were opposed to the further extension of slavery and who were likewise resolved to get rid of the corruption existing in territorial and national politics by the creation of a new political

[5] Reminiscences of C. G. Ames in Eugene V. Smalley's *History of the Republican Party from Its Organization to the Present Time, to Which is Added a Political History of Minnesota from a Republican Point of View*, 324 (St. Paul, 1896).

party. Several months elapsed before the committee took any action in the matter. It was not until March 1, 1855, that the first printed notice of a "Republican Convention" to be held at St. Anthony, March 29 and 30, appeared.[6]

The St. Anthony convention was attended by many well-known men of Hennepin, Ramsey, Washington, and Dakota counties.[7] William R. Marshall was presiding officer, and in the list of six vice-presidents selected by the nominating committee appear the names of Nathaniel McLean and A. P. Lane. The convention approved a set of fourteen resolutions embodying the principles or platform of the Territorial Republican Party, authorized the issuance of an address to the people, and appointed a territorial central committee of seven to call a convention at St. Paul which should perfect a permanent organization of the party and nominate a delegate to Congress. The committee as appointed consisted of Nathaniel McLean, Richard Chute, Warren Bristol, Dr. Childs, H. M. Nichols, A. P. Lane, and J. S. Mann; W. R. Marshall was later added as chairman.[8]

The call for the St. Paul convention was published for the first time in the columns of the *Daily Minnesotian* May 22, 1855. The date was set for "Wednesday, the 28th of July Next," an error which was corrected in the May 24 issue to "Wednesday, the 25th of July Next." Several days later copies of a circular containing the call printed from the same type as that used in the *Minnesotian,* with a letter appended, dated June 1, 1855, and signed by six of the members of the Territorial Republican Committee, were mailed to the leading

[6] *Minnesota Republican* (St. Anthony), March 1, 1855.

[7] *Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), March 31, 1855. Smalley in his *History of the Republican Party,* 149, gives the attendance as two hundred, but the editor of the *St. Anthony Express,* March 31, estimates that the largest number of actual members attending any of the sessions was fifty.

[8] The proceedings of the convention, the resolutions adopted, and the "Circular Address of the Territorial Republican Convention to the People of Minnesota," prepared by C. G. Ames, appeared in the *Minnesota Republican,* April 5, 1855.

Republicans of each county. The copy of the circular which was found among the Sibley Papers, now in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, and which is reprinted below, was sent to James M. Boal of Mendota. It is addressed in the handwriting of Daniel Rohrer.[9]

Delegates to the convention to the number of 123 were selected by the various methods suggested in the call, but only 94 were in attendance at the sessions on July 25. All the members of the committee signing the call were present as delegates except A. P. Lane. Warren Bristol was made temporary chairman, and Daniel Rohrer temporary secretary. These two appointments were made permanent on the recommendation of the nominating committee, of which Richard Chute was a member. The central committee appointed by the St. Anthony meeting was continued for one year with Nathaniel McLean as chairman.[10] The platform adopted reaffirmed the principles laid down by the St. Anthony convention, and pledged the party to the enactment of a prohibitory liquor statute. The only nomination to be made was that for delegate to Congress, which was settled by the first ballot, the votes being distributed as follows: W. R. Marshall, 52; Alexander Ramsey, 36; David Olmsted, 4; G. A. Nourse, 1.[11]

[9] A notation to this effect was made in pencil on the circular by Major R. I. Holcombe, who was engaged by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1893 to arrange the Sibley Papers. Daniel Rohrer came to St. Paul in 1850 and entered upon the practice of law. He was city treasurer from 1854 to 1859. In 1878 he removed to Worthington. *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 4: 462; 14: 654.

[10] *Daily Minnesotian*, August 20, 1855.

[11] *Minnesota Republican*, July 26, 1855; *Daily Minnesotian*, July 26, 27, 1855.

CIRCULAR.

TERRITORIAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION!

THE undersigned, a Committee appointed for that purpose by the preliminary Republican Convention held at St. Anthony on the 29th of March last, would hereby call upon the REPUBLICANS of MINNESOTA, without distinction as to the old party names of "Democrat" or "Whig," to meet in DELEGATE CONVENTION at ST. PAUL, in the *Hall of the House of Representatives of the Territorial Capitol,* on

WEDNESDAY, the 25th of JULY NEXT,

at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of nominating a Candidate for DELEGATE IN CONGRESS; of declaring and enforcing the principles and platform of the Republican Party of Minnesota; and of taking such action and establishing such systematic organization, as shall ensure the triumph of the sacred and beneficent principles espoused by the Republican Party, and which lie at the foundation of all good government.

In apportioning the representation to the Convention, it has been deemed most advisable to assign one delegate at large to each of the thirty-five counties of the Territory, whether organized or not; and one additional Delegate for every 300 of population according to the census to be taken prior to the ensuing first of July, and for every fraction of population exceeding 150, also an additional delegate.

The mode of appointing the delegates—whether by mass meetings at the county seats or other central points or by separate meetings in the several election precincts of a county, or by County Delegate Conventions, is left to the discretion of the people of the counties respectively; but in remote unorganized counties contiguous to each other, and in the same Council District, it is suggested, that a general mass meeting in the most populous or central county, would be the most advisable mode of selecting delegates.

The Committee, in view of the fact, that the Republican Party is a return of the good and best men of all parties to the platform of principles enacted by our fathers on the 4th of July, 1776, earnestly recommend that the meetings in the counties,

for the selection of Delegates to the Territorial Convention, should be held wherever at all practicable, on the ensuing 4th day of July, 1855, there being no fitter mode of celebrating that sacred day than by raising once more to the breeze the banner of Freedom so long obscured by the dark clouds of human bondage.

The Committee deem it unnecessary to present at length considerations in behalf of the proposed convention.

That the tendency of our Government late years and at the present time is anti-Republican and in a directly opposite direction from that intended by its enlightened founders, and demanded by the unalienable rights of man, is too surely attested by the recent outrages of popular sovereignty in Kansas, and the unlimited extension of Human Slavery sought by the repeal of the Missouri Restriction.

That our local government needs renovating few will deny.

That our fair Territory needs to be redeemed from the withering blight of unrestrained traffic in intoxicating liquors, is too well proven by our statistics of pauperism and crime having their almost only sources in this nefarious traffic.

The great danger to our popular government is, that, through the apathy and indifference of the masses, public affairs and the administration of government, will be resigned into the hands of selfishly ambitious men and trading politicians. The sure prevention and cure is in the PEOPLE governing themselves.

We therefore call upon every man to meet the responsibilities of a citizen of a country whose sovereign and governor he is in part. And if his sympathies are with the Republican Party, to meet with his neighbors and fellow citizens to deliberate upon the means that will best promote the ends of *good government.*

WM. R. MARSHALL, N. M'LEAN,
RICHARD CHUTE, WARREN BRISTOL,
A. P. LANE, JOHN S. MANN,

Republican Territorial Committee.[12]

St. Paul, May 22d, 1855.

[12] It is significant that all of the members of this committee were recent arrivals in Minnesota. Marshall located in St. Anthony in 1849 and McLean in St. Paul in the same year; Bristol and Mann came

To J. M. Boal[13]

DEAR SIR: We have been informed that you hold the principles of the Republican Party, and can be relied upon as a Leading Man in your vicinity, to be active in forwarding the organization of the Republican movement in this Territory. We trust you will forthwith go to work to secure the appointment of Delegates to the Territorial Convention at Saint Paul, on the 25th of July next. Do not, we beg of you, wait for some one else to move in the matter. If you believe the principles indicated by the above call to be right, it is *your* duty to use your utmost endeavors to have them prevail in the Territory and the Nation. We rely upon you as one to go forward and take a leading part in convening meetings of the People, and in seeing that Delegates

in 1850, both taking up claims in Hennepin County within the present limits of the city of Minneapolis; Chute and Lane established themselves in St. Anthony and Anoka, respectively, in 1854. After representing the St. Anthony precinct in the first territorial legislature, Marshall removed to St. Paul, where he was engaged in the banking business in 1855. McLean was one of the publishers of the *Minnesota Chronicle* and its successor, the *Chronicle and Register,* in 1849 and 1850; from 1850 to 1853 he held the position of United States Indian agent at Fort Snelling, after which he returned to St. Paul. Mann was elected county treasurer and Bristol county attorney of Hennepin County in 1852. By 1855, however, Bristol had removed to Red Wing. Chute was engaged in real estate business in St. Anthony, and Lane had erected the first flour mill in Anoka. In later years Marshall became governor of the state, and Bristol, after serving in the state legislature from 1866 to 1869, was appointed associate justice of the supreme court of New Mexico in 1872. Lane was a candidate for state auditor on the Republican ticket in 1857, but was not elected. See Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* and references there cited, and for Mann, John H. Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People and Early History of Minneapolis,* 143, 153 (Minneapolis, 1890), and Isaac Atwater, (ed.) *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota,* 35, 46, 98 (New York, 1893).

[13] The name is written in. James McClellan Boal had been a member of the territorial legislature from 1849 to 1852. In 1855, probably before the date of this circular, he moved from West St. Paul to Mendota. *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 4: 158; 9: 148.

be appointed who will attend without fail the sessions of the Convention.

WILLIAM R. MARSHALL, N. M'LEAN,
RICHARD CHUTE, WARREN BRISTOL,
A. P. LANE, JOHN S. MANN,
Republican Territorial Committee.

St. Paul, June 1, 1855.[14]

P. S.—The Committee would be glad to hear from you by letter, from time to time, in regard to any matters tending to forward the success of the Republican Party and its principles in your County.

[*Endorsed:*] 1855 Call for first Republican Convention

[14] Printed *1856,* but corrected in ink in the circular to *1855.*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada (Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. 7). By CHESTER MARTIN. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916. 240 p.)

There have been few more dramatic incidents in the history of western Canada than the attempt of Lord Selkirk to found a settlement in the Red River Valley in the early part of the nineteenth century. Much has been written concerning his colonizing ventures in addition to the pamphlets which he himself published. By far the most thorough and exhaustive, as well as the most fair and impartial, treatment of the subject which has appeared thus far is contained in the volume under consideration. As the title of the work indicates, the writer has not confined his attention to the Red River Valley enterprise; he includes in chapter 2 a brief account of Lord Selkirk's earlier attempts at colonization upon Prince Edward Island and at Baldoon in Upper Canada. The greater portion of the work, however, is devoted to a study of the Red River colony; and, moreover, to a particular phase of the history of this experiment—the relations between Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies.

Mr. Martin sketches the story of Lord Selkirk's early life and describes the inception of the idea of colonization, which concerned itself in an effort to turn the stream of Scottish emigration from certain portions of the United States to Canada. There follows an account of the grant to Selkirk by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811 of the region known as Assiniboia. The tract was located in the Red River Valley and included a territory five times the size of Scotland, extending from Lake Winnipeg southward to the watershed between the northward-flowing rivers and the upper Missouri and Mississippi. It will be seen that a considerable portion of the grant lay within the limits of the present states of Minnesota and North Dakota.

The long and bitter struggle between the Selkirk colony and the Northwest Company, which is the central theme of Mr. Martin's work, was due primarily to the conflicting interests of the

great Montreal trading concern and the Scotch settlers who came into the Red River Valley by way of Hudson Bay. No region throughout the entire Canadian Northwest was of such strategic importance for the trade of the Northwest Company as that of the Assiniboia grant; for not only could its possessors control the lakes and rivers traversed by the voyageurs from Fort William on their way to and from the Athabasca country, one of the richest fur-bearing areas in all North America; but it was also the hunting ground from which the traders in the remote posts of the interior obtained the buffalo meat, or pemmican, upon which they subsisted throughout the long winter months. There was an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the fur-trader and the settler, which manifested itself not only in the open violence of the Northwest Company, but also in the indifference of the Hudson's Bay traders with respect to the welfare of the new colony. Selkirk, however, proceeded with his plans for colonization, confident of the validity of his legal title to the grant obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company, though it was apparent from the beginning that he must face the opposition of the Nor'westers, who were by no means disposed to acquiesce in the new arrangement.

Mr. Martin has written an accurate and painstaking description of the course of hostilities between the settlers and the employees of the Northwest Company, beginning in 1814, when Miles Macdonell, governor of the colony, issued a proclamation forbidding the export of all pemmican from Assiniboia—a somewhat arbitrary measure directed against the fur-traders—and culminating with the "massacre" of 1816 and the dispersal of the colonists. The latter portion of the book contains a detailed account of Lord Selkirk's efforts to bring the partners of the Northwest Company to justice, and the fruitless and heartbreaking litigation which followed. The concluding chapter is a discussion of Selkirk's aims and influence, in which an attempt is made to summarize the work of the Scotch nobleman and to estimate the value of his achievements.

Mr. Martin has approached his task from the point of view of the scholar who is seeking to discover the truth concerning a series of incidents which has long been a subject of dispute and even of recrimination. A glance at the footnotes and bibli-

ography reveals the fact that the author has examined an enormous amount of printed and manuscript material, the most important single source consisting of the Selkirk Papers, in some seventy-nine volumes, which are to be found in the Canadian Archives. An effort has clearly been made to maintain a fair and impartial attitude, and, in general, the attempt has been successful. It is apparent, however, that Mr. Martin's sympathies are with Lord Selkirk and the Red River settlers and against the great fur-trading barons and their half-breed retainers. He is careful to indicate Selkirk's mistakes and shortcomings, but his attitude is illustrated by a thinly veiled sarcasm which appears in his rather frequent use of quotations from the correspondence of certain partners of the Northwest Company.

The author professes to believe that the principal significance of Selkirk's work lies in the fact that his effects safeguarded the northwestern part of the continent for the British crown, though it must be confessed that to the casual reader the reasoning upon which this statement is based is not quite clear. Of more significance, it would seem, is the fact that the history of the Red River colony serves as another illustration of the hostility between the fur-trader and the settler which has characterized American history from the beginning. The position of the Northwest Company in 1815 and 1816 is analogous to the attitude of the British government with respect to the Old Northwest between 1783 and 1795. Too little has perhaps been said of the colony from the social and economic point of view. The narrative itself, however, as well as the references to the sources used, reveals the fact that the writer's principal interest is centered in the political aspect of Lord Selkirk's work; and from that point of view Mr. Martin's volume must be regarded as a noteworthy contribution to Canadian history.

Wayne E. Stevens

Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with Special Reference to Iowa: a Study in Social Politics. By FRED E. HAYNES. (Iowa City, Iowa, The State Historical Society, 1916. xii, 564 p.)[1]

The importance of the rôle played by third parties in American political history since the Civil War is becoming more and more evident as one after another of the propositions advocated by these independent organizations are incorporated into the platforms of the older parties. Students of history and politics, therefore, will welcome this comprehensive work treating of the origin, development, and significance of these movements. The Prohibition and Socialist parties having been excluded from consideration for the sake of unity, the material falls naturally into five parts covering the Liberal Republican, Farmer's, Greenback, Populist, and Progressive movements, respectively. In each part the story of the developments in Iowa has been segregated from the general account and treated more extensively in separate chapters. As Iowa was the center of interest in some of the movements dealt with, the result is comparable to a presentation of *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out, followed by an epilogue in which the hero plays his part as a soliloquy. It would seem that either an intensive study of these movements in Iowa, with the essential background sketched in where needed, or a unified account of the subject in the country as a whole without special reference to any single state, would have been a more valuable contribution. Attempting to accomplish two things at once, the author has not succeeded in doing either with entire satisfaction.

Any one who essays to write recent American history from the sources is confronted by such a mass of material that he is practically forced either to restrict himself to a very limited subject or to forego any idea of doing exhaustive work. In the field of this book there are available, among other sources, hundreds of files of contemporary newspapers, many of them special organs of the movement considered, and a number of extensive collections of personal papers, notably those of Weller, Weaver, and Donnelly. The latter collection alone numbers over fifty thou-

[1] Reprinted by permission from the *American Historical Review,* 22: 415–417 (January, 1917).

sand documents and would require several months for a thorough examination. The author appears to have chosen the second horn of the dilemma, however. He has dipped into each of these collections here and there, and he has made extensive use of a limited number of newspaper files, but for the greater part of his information he has relied upon such contemporary compilations as the *Annual Cyclopedia* and upon secondary accounts whenever available. For example, in two chapters covering forty pages, the references to the work of a single secondary writer average one to a page. By the liberal use of quotations, skillfully woven together, the work is given somewhat the character of a mosaic. So far as these embody contemporary sentiment their use may be justifiable, but it is difficult to conceive of any good reason why long quotations from secondary writers should be used to tell a story or to express conclusions which the reader would prefer to have in the author's own words. Not always, moreover, is it clear whether or not the quoted matter represents the convictions of the author, and almost always it is necessary to hunt for an obscure reference in the back of the book in order to ascertain the source of the quotation.

In spite of these defects of organization and style, the work is an addition to the literature on the last half-century of American history. It brings together in a single volume a large amount of scattered information little known or used by historical writers, and it makes clear the unity and general significance of the third-party movements. Much monographic work will be needed, however, on various phases of the subject in separate states or sections before an entirely satisfactory general account can be written.

As always with the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, the book is attractively printed and bound and has an admirable index. The failure to include a bibliography is to be deplored, and the grouping of notes and references at the end would seem to be an unnecessary concession to the popular reader. This sensitive personage, who is supposed to be annoyed by footnotes, will probably be equally annoyed by the reference numbers, which run to four figures.

SOLON J. BUCK

History of Redwood County, Minnesota. Compiled by FRANKLIN CURTISS-WEDGE. Reviewed by JULIUS A. SCHMAHL, secretary of state. In two volumes. (Chicago, H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company, 1916. xiii, viii, 1016 p. Illustrated)

Until a model history of a Minnesota county shall have appeared, the student will probably be less interested in the content than in the execution of such county histories as are put forth from time to time in this state. It is so with the *History of Redwood County*. In subject matter the work is similar to most county histories, particularly to the histories of other counties located within the same settlement area, the valley of the upper Minnesota River. In its execution, however, this history shows a degree of progress, and thereby contains elements of promise, which distinguish it from other histories produced by the same company and from the general run of commercial histories. It is therefore not enough, in this connection, merely to label it "a county history of the familiar commercial type," and dismiss it with a recapitulation of its class characteristics.

Among the distinctive features of the *History of Redwood County* is the presumably unusual degree of authoritativeness attaching to it, not only because it was compiled by an experienced worker in the field of county history, but also because it was "reviewed" by a man whose standing and whose knowledge of the subject admirably fitted him for that service. Another feature, especially welcome to the student, is the use of references at the end of each chapter to the authorities upon which the chapter is based. An excellent map of the county also marks a step in the direction of supplying indispensable aids to a complete understanding of the text. With reference to the Cooper histories alone,[2] an improvement is to be noted in the relative arrangement of the historical and biographical matter. The plan, hitherto followed, of devoting a chapter here and there to "biographical reviews" is here discarded for the more logical division of the whole into history and biography, a separate volume being devoted to each. The two volumes are also somewhat more attractive in appearance than others of the same origin.

[2] For a review of two Cooper histories, those of Wright and Renville counties, in conjunction with a number of other county histories, see MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, 1: 378–386.

But not a few of the old faults still persist, while some of the new virtues have little more than a promising foothold. There is no improvement in the matter of indexes: the historical volume has none. The map of the county, already referred to, should face the text instead of the table of contents. Illustrations, with the exception of the frontispiece, are all located in the volume of biographies, although a number of them properly belong with the historical narrative. References to authorities and sources are too general as a rule; for example, among the "references" appended to chapter 7, "The Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (fifteen volumes)" are cited without specifying volume or page. Other references bring out the fact also that the text to which they are appended is not only, as professed, a compilation, but also that it is a compilation from compilations, not *ad infinitum* perhaps, but to an extent which greatly diminishes the value of the work as a contribution to Minnesota history. A particularly clear indication of this second, third, or perhaps fourth hand character of some of the material used is to be found in the "Authority and References" at the end of chapter 5: "This chapter is a somewhat free compilation from articles by Return I. Holcombe in 'Minnesota in Three Centuries,' and by P. M. Magnusson in the 'History of Stearns County.' These articles were in turn compiled from other sources. To this material, the editor of this work has added numerous notes and facts, gathered chiefly from 'The Aborigines of Minnesota,' and from Part 2, of the 'Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,' 1896–97. Information has also been gathered from the 'History of the Sioux Massacre,' by Charles S. Bryant, and contained in the History of the Minnesota Valley, 1882. The article in Minnesota Valley book was in turn compiled from the 'History of the Minnesota Indian Massacre,' by Charles S. Bryant and Abel B. Murch, 1863." A more direct use of the primary sources, together with closer attention to the aids essential to the ready finding, interpreting, and supplementing of information in the text, would have been desirable.

Most county histories are defective in organization, and this work affords an excellent opportunity for an elaboration of that oft-repeated criticism. An analysis of the general arrangement of the material will best illustrate what is meant by faulty organ-

ization. The first fifteen chapers of the historical volume deal for the most part with the physical features of the county, with conditions and events prior to the beginnings of permanent settlement, and with the political status of the region in its evolution from Spanish territory to a Minnesota county of its present dimensions. The materials for these chapters are so arranged as to present on the whole a fairly coherent and unified introduction to the history of the county proper. The individual chapters, however, are rather loosely organized. In the first chapter, for example, the purpose, apparently and quite properly, is to acquaint the reader in a general way with the location and character of the county and with the main features of the present life of the community, but this purpose is partly defeated by the inclusion of statistical and historical material which properly belongs in the body of the work. Though it carries the title "Geographical Conditions," the chapter includes paragraphs on such subjects as trading centers, nationality, and education.

The organization of the much larger mass of materials which relate to the actual settlement and development of the county is even more open to criticism. These materials are embodied in a series of loosely correlated topical narratives which deal with distinct phases, and embrace varying periods, of the county's history. In these chapters whatever of continuity and unity the preceding narrative may have possessed disappears, not so much because the topical method is employed, as because of the utterly haphazard arrangement of the topics. Chapters on "Pioneer Experiences" (33) and "The Pioneer Period" (41), which, chronologically considered, might well appear earlier in the series, are placed, the one in the middle, and the other well toward the end. Any number of accounts which are chiefly important for later periods precede them, and there is no apparent connection between them and the chapters among which they are found. On the other hand, chapters which do not fall so readily into a chronological scheme, but which relate to a common phase of the history, are distributed without particular reference to such relationship. The following chapters relating to farm life in the county, for example, occur in the series as follows: "Live Stock" (23), "Ditching" (24), "Butter and Cheese Making" (29), "Agriculture of Today" (30), and "The Redwood Hol-

stein Farm" (37), with chapters on such topics as physicians and surgeons, newspapers, churches, townships, and villages, intervening. Such an arrangement of materials as this results in a lack of recapitulations, allusions, and summaries, by means of which a more central viewpoint might have been maintained. In other words, the series of chapters produces the effect of a mere collection of separate articles on detached subjects rather than of an orderly, connected, and forward-moving succession of narratives contributory to a main theme.

It is clear that a county history, if it is to be a real history, must be thoroughly organized on the basis of some comprehensive and intelligible plan. The question, then, naturally arises as to what methodological principle or principles may be followed to the best advantage in the construction of such a plan. Obviously, the broad divisions of the whole subject will be chronological, and the question really arises only when it comes to dealing with that period which is concerned with settlement and development, and which embraces the history of the county proper. Ought this complex subject to be subdivided chronologically according to periods, which, in turn, may be considered in their several phases; or ought it to be subdivided logically according to phases or topics, which may be dealt with in an approximately chronological order? The later is, in general, the method followed in the Redwood history. Although the full possibilities of this method are not, as has been seen, brought out in this work, and may not have been exhausted by other county histories, it is the one commonly employed, and is therefore the one with the limitations of which students are most familiar. A study of the results so far obtained by its use warrants the assertion that the topical method does not encourage a thorough preliminary study of all discoverable relationships between one set of facts and other sets of facts, and too often leads to the writing of fragmentary sketches. It does not require a rigid selection of significant facts, and so leaves room for the inclusion of much insignificant detail. The topical method must fail, even with proper transitions from one subject to another, to convey an adequate sense of the evolutionary character of the subject—of the gradual unfolding of the community life in all of its various phases.

On the other hand, both the advantages and the limitations of a method predominantly chronological, as applied at least to Minnesota county history, have yet to be demonstrated. It is believed, however, that this method might be used, and used to advantage. Suppose, for instance, that the chronological method had been followed in the history proper of Redwood County. The settlement and development period would then have been divided into a number of sub-periods. In fact, it might have been treated in accordance with an outline of the story of Redwood County which is introduced in chapter 2 "for purposes of consistent study." In this outline the "Agricultural Era," as it is called, is divided into "The Pioneer Period, 1864–1872," "The Grasshopper Period, 1873–1877," "The Period of Rapid Growth, 1878–1905," and "The Modern Period, 1906–1916." Had this outline been used consistently as a working plan instead of being offered to the reader merely as a key to the finished work, the work itself might have served "for purposes of consistent study." Matter relating to the pioneer period, instead of being distributed among widely scattered chapters on "County Commissioners and Their Meetings," "Highways and Bridges," "Education," "Difficulties Overcome," and so on, might have been worked up into a well-rounded history of the county, in all its various phases, during that particular period. The same method might have been followed for other periods. This chronological grouping of the various phases of the county's history would have tended to give them a significance which they otherwise lack. Railroads, for instance, instead of being treated as railroads merely, might have been considered also as a factor in the development of the county at various stages, a factor with or against which other factors were operative. It so happens that the beginnings of railroading in the county were contemporaneous with the famous grasshopper scourge, yet the chapter on railroads in this history contains not the slightest indication of that fact. A comprehensive account of the period, whether it were best called "The Grasshopper Period" or not, would have served to bring out the effect of the scourge upon the construction and operation of railroads, and the separate or combined effect of these two factors upon the progress of settlement and growth. In a word, it would seem that a fundamentally chronological treatment would have

resolved the great variety and extent of material into a unity approximating, as nearly as the limits of thought and language allow, the essential oneness of the community life.

It must be admitted that it is much easier to outline than to execute a work along these lines. It may be that the more ideal method would prove the less practical. It ought, however, to be put to the test. And even if the topical method continues to determine the final form of the county history, a thoroughgoing preliminary analysis and synthesis of the raw materials in accordance with chronological principles will be absolutely essential to an adequate treatment of the several topics—to the production, in short, of a real history.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The stated meeting of the executive council December 11 was open to the public and an audience of about fifty was present. Memorial addresses were presented in honor of Major Return I. Holcombe and Captain Henry A. Castle, the former by Dr. Warren Upham, and the latter by Hon. Gideon S. Ives. Mr. Sydney A. Patchin read a paper on "Banking in Minnesota in the Territorial Period." The annual meeting of the society was held January 15. Following the business session, at which the usual reports were presented, the society adjourned to the House Chamber for the annual address, which consisted of a memorial in honor of James J. Hill by Mr. Joseph Gilpin Pyle. This part of the meeting was open to the public and the audience numbered about seventy-five.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending January 31, 1917: Sydney B. Dean, Rhoda J. Emery, Mrs. Marion R. Furness, Jesse A. Gregg, John D. Hicks, Lydia M. Ickler, Frank J. Ottis, Frank Schlick, and Kathrene S. Sleppy of St. Paul; Frank G. McMillan, Maren Michelet, Franc M. Potter, and Edward S. Thurston of Minneapolis; Thomas J. McElligott of Appleton; Richard A. Costello of Graceville; Samuel M. Gillelan of Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Leland S. Kemnitz of Detroit, Michigan. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Ferdinand Willius, St. Paul, November 7; Emerson Hadley, St. Paul, November 11; Chester A. Congdon, Duluth, November 21; Ansel Oppenheim, St. Paul, December 9; Captain J. Stearns Smith, St. Paul, December 19; Ether L. Shepley, St. Paul, January 2; George Thompson, St. Paul, January 7; and Captain Axel H. Reed, Glencoe, January 21.

The November number of the press bulletin issued by the Wisconsin Historical Society contains the following item under the headline "Minnesota to Have Splendid Historical Library Building." The paragraph was published in a number of Wisconsin papers. "The Minnesota Historical Society, founded as

was ours in Wisconsin, when the commonwealth was in its infancy, has never possessed an adequate or suitable home. This defect will soon be remedied, however, for a splendid building to house the Society's collections and activities is in process of erection by the State and will be ready for occupancy it is expected, some time during 1917. The histories of Wisconsin and Minnesota are inseparably linked together. Two decades ago Wisconsin provided a suitable home for the State Historical Society whose library at Madison is the most notable historical library west of Washington. That our neighbor on the west has at length made provision for so fine an historical library building is a cause for congratulation throughout all the Northwest."

The superintendent of the society attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Cincinnati during the last week in December and represented the Minnesota Historical Society at the Conference of Historical Societies held in connection with the meeting.

Gifts

A record book and some papers of the Clearwater Guards of Clearwater, Minnesota, have been presented by Mr. E. K. Whiting of Owatonna. They were found among the papers of his father, the late Samuel Whiting of Clearwater, who was orderly sergeant of the company. The record book contains the constitution adopted December 31, 1860, a list of members enrolled from January 3 to September 23, 1861, by-laws adopted March 15, 1861, and minutes of meetings from January 7 to May 22, 1861. Mounted in the book is a copy of the printed circular containing the proclamation of Ignatius Donnelly, "Governor *ad interim*," of April 16, 1861, calling for a regiment of volunteers for the Civil War, and "Special Order, No. 1" of Adjutant General Acker announcing plans for the organization of the regiment. The Clearwater Guards voted on April 22 not to volunteer the services of the company, but a number of its members enlisted in Company D of the First Regiment, and on May 22 the "Guards" turned out to escort them to the boat which was to take them to camp.

From the Minnesota Boat Club, through Mr. George B. Ware, secretary, the society has received the first minute book of the club, covering the years from its organization in 1870 to its incorporation in 1873, and also the first log book entitled "A True Story of a Number of Bad Boys Who Went Rowing on the Sabbath Day." Mr. Ware states that the directors of the club feared that during a change of officers these books might be lost and that they desired to deposit them where their preservation would be assured and where they would be accessible to members at any time. It is to be hoped that other organizations will see the wisdom of depositing their early records with the historical society.

Mrs. Ida W. Wilson of Cohagen, Montana, has presented a collection of some hundreds of letters and papers which belonged to her husband, the late Wilford C. Wilson of Minneapolis. The collection consists largely of material relating to members of the Eleventh Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. Mr. Wilson served in this regiment during the Civil War, and for several years had been gathering biographical data concerning its members, which he expected to publish in some form. It is understood that before he died, in 1911, he had secured about all the information available.

Mr. John W. Jackson of Stillwater has presented to the society two interesting old volumes of business accounts. These were originally the property of John McKusick, a Stillwater pioneer of the early forties and one of the Maine men who helped lay the foundations of the lumber industry in the St. Croix Valley. The volumes contain a journalized record of transactions in logs, lumber, real estate, and general merchandise in the period from 1848 to 1859. As the entries are detailed and legible, there is offered a wealth of information upon such subjects as the kinds and prices of commodities, the cost of labor and of manufacture, and the names, needs, activities, and movements of the people of that time and region.

Mr. Frederick B. Yates of Stillwater, former surveyor general of logs and lumber for the first district with headquarters at Stillwater, has presented three volumes of the records of that

office which he preserved as curiosities when old records were being disposed of to make room for new. Two of the volumes are a record of log marks that were entered in the period from 1854 to 1875. Entries prior to March 1, 1857, according to a statement in the first volume, were "taken from a Book kept by Robert Hasty, as Surveyor General, and now on file in the Sur. Gens. Office." The record includes, besides the marks, descriptions of the marks, owners' names, dates of entries, dates of transfers, and names of subsequent owners. A third volume is a record of "orders" from 1858 to 1879, the same being the surveyor general's authorization by log-owners to scale and release to purchasers stated quantities of logs from the boom.

A number of old account books, manuscript maps, and miscellany, which were at various times brought into court in Washington County as exhibits by litigants who never reclaimed them, have been secured through the kindness of Mr. David A. Connors, clerk of the district court. Among them are four account books, for the years 1883 and 1884, of the steamer "Jennie Hayes," a boat which carried freight and passengers on the St. Croix River between Stillwater, Taylors Falls, and intermediate points. The set includes a cash book, a journal, a ledger, and a freight book. The last is of special interest as a source of detailed information about river transportation at that period, for it contains a daily record of trips made, showing the kinds and quantities of freight carried, together with the names of shippers and consignees, the loading and unloading points, and freight charges. Another record is that of the corporate proceedings, from 1874 to 1883, of Seymour, Sabin, and Company, a Stillwater manufacturing concern in which former United States Senator Dwight M. Sabin was interested. The maps referred to show the rights of way through Washington County of the St. Paul and Chicago, the Lake Superior and Mississippi, and the Minneapolis and St. Croix railroads, together with the towns through which they passed and the chief topographical features of contiguous territory. They are officially certified, and bear the dates 1870, 1871, and 1887, respectively.

Mr. Charles A. Lammers, city clerk of Stillwater, has donated a series of six pamphlets and books containing charters and

ordinances of the city of Stillwater, together with rules of government of the city council and special laws affecting Stillwater. These publications are dated 1858, 1871, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1887, respectively. With the exception of the *Amendment of City Charter,* 1873, which was published by authority of the legislature, they were authorized by the city council. The city of Stillwater was incorporated in 1854. Subsequent alterations in the charter to the year 1887, city ordinances from 1854 to 1887, and special laws from 1858 to 1887 are included in the series in question. Accompanying the series is a pamphlet containing the charter prepared and proposed by the board of freeholders in 1915.

With the addition of ten recently acquired issues the society's set of Stillwater city directories now includes seventeen volumes covering the years 1881–85, 1887, 1890–1915. For the new acquisitions the society is indebted to Miss Mary E. Corson, librarian of the Stillwater Public Library, Charles A. Lammers, city clerk, F. E. Holcombe, and F. M. Welch, all of Stillwater.

The society has received a file of census schedules which contain the official returns made by Washington County census takers in connection with the national and state censuses in the years 1850, 1860, 1870, 1875, 1880, and 1885, together with a local census of Stillwater taken in 1853. The former material appears to be duplicated by similar records on file in the state archives, with the exception of a considerable number of important schedules for 1860 and all of the schedules for 1880. The acquired file will therefore supplement the material already available as a source of exceedingly valuable information about the people, activities, and institutions of Washington County.

Three well-worn school books—a speller, a grammar, and an arithmetic—have been received from Mrs. M. M. Bolles of Stillwater. Mrs. Bolles, as Mary Maria Carli, used these books in school at Stillwater in the forties and early fifties. They therefore illustrate one phase of the very beginnings of elementary education in Minnesota.

The society has received from Miss Ina Firkins, reference librarian of the University of Minnesota, a volume of *Poems* by

her brother Chester Firkins (Boston, 1916. 198 p.). Mr. Firkins was born in Minneapolis in 1882 and attended the University of Minnesota. At the time of his death in 1915 he had attained the distinction of being considered among the most promising of the younger journalists and poets. The verses contained in the present collection, arranged for publication by Miss Firkins, appeared in various periodicals and newspapers during the last twelve years and represent the best of his work. Of particular interest are the poems of the Northwest.

Professor John H. Gray, head of the department of economics in the University of Minnesota, has presented a specially bound volume containing a collection of twenty separates or reprints of articles written by him. The volume includes also an autographed photograph of the writer, a copy of the sketch of his life in *Who's Who in America,* and a list of his writings complete to September 12, 1916, and including 354 items.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The *Proceedings and Addresses* of the National Association of State Libraries at its nineteenth convention in June, 1916 (100 p.) contains the usual report of the association's committee on public archives summarizing the progress of archival work in the different states during the year. From this it appears that the Arkansas Historical Commission has received from the various state departments "thousands of volumes of original records," under the provisions of the act establishing the commission, which authorizes the turning over to it of any public records "not in current use." In Connecticut many state and local records have been taken over by the archives division of the state library, and "under the direction of the examiner of public records, the land records of the several towns are being systematically indexed, standard ink and paper are being prescribed for public records, and new vaults and safes constructed." The State Historical Society of Kansas devotes a part of its new building to archival work and a mass of material turned over by the insurance department is now being sorted. The recently appointed archivist of Kentucky is "engaged in sorting and classifying a large file of mixed papers which for some years had been lying in one of the cellars of the old capitol." In Massachusetts the archives division is compiling a card index to valuable state archives. Oklahoma now has a law authorizing the transfer of non-current records to the historical society. The division of public records of Pennsylvania has arranged many volumes of county papers as well as state and provincial records. Rhode Island has a state record commissioner who supervises the making of public records throughout the state. The Virginia legislature has appropriated four thousand dollars for shelving and filing cases for the records being arranged and indexed by the department of archives and history of the state library. Non-current records are turned over to the state library in Washington, but the library has no facilities or funds for arranging them. West Virginia has a bureau of archives and history which is

required by law to devise and adopt "a systematic plan for the preservation and classification of all the state archives of the past, present, and future." Even the Philippine Islands have a division of archives in the Philippine Library and Museum, which has arranged and indexed many old documents, and the activities of the "historian of Porto Rico" have resulted in the classification of some of the valuable archives of that territory. The report of the committee is followed by a paper by Waldo G. Leland on "The Archive Depot." All this material is to be found also in the *Papers and Proceedings* of the American Library Association for 1916.

The *Sixth Biennial Report* of the North Carolina Historical Commission for 1914–16 (1916. 26 p.) is a notable record of progress in state historical work. The secretary of the commission, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, reports the completion of the classification and filing of the executive papers from the state archives, about forty thousand documents, and the beginning of similar work on the legislative papers. Ten collections of personal papers also were arranged during the biennium, thousands of documents were reinforced, restored, and mounted for binding, sixty-two volumes of mounted papers were bound, and a considerable number of manuscript collections were calendared or indexed. Besides acquiring many valuable collections of private papers the commission received parts of the older records of nine counties of the state. Through the North Carolina division of the United Confederate Veterans a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be devoted to the preparation of a history of the state's part in the Civil War, was received from a private individual; while another friend of history established a research fund amounting to five hundred dollars annually, which is used to defray the expenses of trips to various parts of the state for the collection of historical material.

The Canadian government has issued the *Report of the Work of the Public Archives* for the years 1914 and 1915 (1916. 20, 25, 255, 471 p.). The last pagination consists of a very valuable "Catalogue of Pamphlets, Journals and Reports in the Public Archives of Canada, 1611-1867, with Index."

The province of Manitoba has established a board of trustees of the archives and provision has been made in the new Parliament buildings at Winnipeg for their preservation and arrangement under the direction of the provincial librarian.

In a table recently compiled by the Minnesota Tax Commission the annual expenditures for historical work in six northwestern states are given as follows: Minnesota, $23,868.70; Wisconsin, $66,505.61; Michigan, $6,526.37; Indiana, $1,622.85; Ohio, $31,547.08; Iowa, $35,487.65. The figures are for the fiscal year ending in 1916 for Ohio and in 1915 for all the other states. The table is printed in a pamphlet entitled *Comparative Cost of State Government* (1916. 78 p.), issued by the commission as a separate of chapter 10 of its *Fifth Biennial Report*.

The *Twentieth Biennial Report* of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka, 1916. 93 p.) contains the proceedings of the annual meetings of 1915 and 1916. Bound with it is a *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916. 320 p.), which contains biographical sketches of a large number of Kansas newspaper men, statistical notes on the counties, cities, and towns of the state, detailed information about all Kansas newspapers and magazines, and lists of the society's files.

"The Freedom of History," by George L. Burr, the presidential address at the meeting of the American Historical Association in December, is published in the January number of the *American Historical Review*. A timely article in the same issue is "Social Relief in the Northwest during the Civil War," by Carl R. Fish. This study is based largely on the mass of Civil War papers from the Wisconsin governor's office recently turned over to the Wisconsin Historical Society, and naturally centers around the movement in that state, although developments in some of the other northwestern states are considered for purposes of comparison.

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the annual article on "Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest," by Dan E. Clark, in which mention is made of various phases of the work of the Minnesota Historical Society. Under the heading "Additional Verendrye

Material" Messrs. Doane Robinson and Charles E. DeLand take exception to some of the arguments presented by Mr. O. G. Libby in his paper on "Some Verendrye Enigmas" in the September issue and Mr. Libby defends his position.

An article "Concerning Catholic Historical Societies," by Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association, in the January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* is packed with valuable suggestions, most of which are pertinent to any historical society.

Nicolet Day on Mackinac Island, number 6 of the *Bulletins* of the Michigan Historical Commission (1916. 32 p.), consists of an account of the "exercises at the unveiling of the tablet commemorating the discovery and exploration of the Northwest; held on Mackinac Island, July 13, 1915, under the auspices of the Michigan Historical Commission and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission." The principal address on the "Life and Character of John Nicolet" is by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J. Number 7 of the same series, entitled *Lewis Cass Day on Mackinac Island* (1916. 43 p.), is an account of the unveiling of a memorial tablet on August 28, 1915, and contains an address on the life of Cass by Edwin Henderson.

The issues of the *Bellman* for January 13, 20, and 27 contain a series of articles by Randolph Edgar entitled "The Path of Hennepin," consisting largely of extracts from the works of Hennepin, Carver, and Laurence Oliphant, describing the upper Mississippi region in 1680, 1766, and 1854, respectively. The articles are illustrated by reproductions of cuts in the original works.

The November issue of the *Western Magazine* contains an article entitled "Glimpses into Early Northwestern History—Early French Forts and Footprints on the Mississippi," and an account of "Wabasha, Minnesota," by C. L. Llewellyn, which is partly historical.

"About Buffalo: Their Range, Extermination, and Possible Domestication" is the title of "A Report Submitted to Sir George E. Foster, Chairman of the Dominions' Royal Commission, by

Isaac Cowie, Winnipeg," and published in the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg, November 11, 1916.

The region immediately adjacent to Trempealeau Mountain in Wisconsin has been set aside recently as a state park through the efforts of Dr. Eben D. Pierce of Trempealeau, assisted by the Wisconsin Historical Society, and through the generosity of Mr. John A. Latsch of Winona, Minnesota. Historic interest attaches to Trempealeau Mountain by reason of the fact that Nicolas Perrot passed the winter of 1685–86 encamped at its base, and that later, in 1731, René Godefroy, Sieur de Linctot, sent out to establish a post among the Sioux, built a fort near the same spot.

A faellesraad, or common council, of Norwegian societies known as bygdelags was organized at a meeting in Minneapolis, November 17, 1916. The council is composed of two delegates from each of the thirty-five bygdelags in the country, which have a total membership of about forty thousand heads of families. The word bygdelag is applied in Norway to a district inhabited by those speaking the same dialect; from this fact these societies in the United States derive their name. To each society or bygdelag belong Norwegians from all parts of the country who are descendants of residents of that particular district or bygdelag in Norway. The object of these societies is to cultivate common acquaintance among those from the same district, and to gather and record historical and biographical material relative to the members. The purpose of the central council is to form a connecting link between different societies and to have charge of matters of common interest. A. A. Veblen of Minneapolis was elected president of this body; D. G. Ristad of Red Wing, vice-president; Rev. L. P. Thorkveen of St. James, secretary; Dr. C. L. Opsal of Red Wing, treasurer; and C. D. Morck of Minneapolis, keeper of the archives. A movement is on foot to have the material collected by the bygdelags deposited in the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Old Settlers' Association of the Head of the Lakes and the Old Settlers' Benefit Association held their annual banquet at Duluth on December 13, 1916. The membership in the former

organization is limited to those who have resided at the head of the lakes for twenty-five years or more. The principal address was given by Judge William Steele, and there were short talks by Harvey W. Dietrich, W. B. Patton, and others. The December 13 issue of the *Duluth Herald* contained a list of the officers elected at the business session.

Pursuant to a suggestion from the Read's Landing Association of the Twin Cities, the post-office department has changed the name of Reed's, Minnesota, to Read's. The change is in the interests of historical accuracy, as the village took its name from its founder, Charles R. Read.

The faculty and students of the law school of the University of Minnesota have begun the publication of a monthly magazine entitled the *Minnesota Law Review,* the first number of which appeared in January, 1917. Some of the articles in the first three issues are "Rights in Soil and Minerals under Water," by Oscar Hallam; "The Minnesota State Bar Association," by Stiles W. Burr; and "Charitable Gifts and the Minnesota Statute of Uses and Trusts," by Edward S. Thurston.

The recent discovery among the archives of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association of old records of the St. Anthony Board of Trade, including minutes of meetings of a committee charged apparently with the task of selecting a name for the town of Minneapolis, resulted in the reopening of the famous controversy over the origin of the word. At the request of the editor of the *Minneapolis Journal,* Judge J. B. Gilfillan, a resident of Minneapolis since 1855, gathered together all the available data relating to the subject in the form of a comprehensive and authoritative report, which was published in that paper in its issue of January 7, and which later appeared in pamphlet form under the title *Who Named Minneapolis* (7 p.). The *Journal* of December 3 contains a facsimile of the minutes of one of the meetings, together with comments on the men composing the committee by Dr. L. P. Foster, who attended the meeting.

An *Historical Sketch of the Grand Army of the Republic in Minnesota from Its Organization August 1, 1866, to August 1,*

1916 (16 p.) has been "published by the Department of Minnesota G. A. R., through Levi Longfellow, Department Patriotic Instructor." The pamphlet, which was compiled by Past Department Commander Watson W. Hall, gives the place and date of each annual encampment, the number of posts represented, the total number of members reported by the posts, and the name of the department commander elected. The highest number of members given was 8,343 in 1892, since when the ranks have been depleted by death until only 2,907 were reported at the fiftieth annual encampment, June 8 and 9, 1916.

Woman Suffrage in Minnesota is the title of a pamphlet compiled by Dr. Ethel E. Hurd and published for the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association by the Inland Press of Minneapolis (1916. 52 p.). Its purpose is "to furnish a ready reference for suffrage workers of Minnesota," and to this end the compiler has gathered much valuable statistical data on the various activities of the association since 1847. Of especial interest are the sections devoted to "Early Efforts and Pioneers," and "Legislative Work," the latter being a résumé of the attempts from 1867 to 1915 to secure the passage by the state legislature of measures favoring enfranchisement of women.

The *Annual Report* of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs for the year 1916–17 (146 p.) contains a description of the prize gavel belonging to the federation. Peculiar value attaches to the gavel because of the fact that the woods used in its construction were taken from historic objects or buildings, two of the pieces being from the old Methodist mission house at Red Rock and the Sibley house at Mendota.

Howe's Souvenir History of Lamberton, Minnesota (1916. 98 p.) is the title of the third pamphlet on the towns of Redwood County issued by Mr. Charles W. Howe of Redwood Falls. It consists of a brief historical sketch, with accounts of the schools, churches, and business firms of Lamberton, and some reminiscences of pioneers, followed by sixty-four pages of biographical sketches of leading business men and farmers of Lamberton and vicinity.

A new series of sketches by Dr. Caryl B. Storrs, entitled "Visitin' 'Round in Minneapolis," has been appearing in recent issues of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Two of the sketches are especially noteworthy contributions to Minneapolis bibliography. In the issue of December 19 Dr. Storrs describes the changes that have taken place in the business center of the city in the last fifty years, particularly in that section which he so aptly denominates the "Greenwich Village" of Minneapolis, closing with a brief history of the firm of Janney, Semple, Hill, and Company, a portrait of whose founder, Mr. T. B. Janney, accompanies the article. The other sketch, in the *Tribune* of January 14, may be called a musical history of Minneapolis, the material for which the author obtained partly from an old scrapbook of programs and newspaper notices belonging to Mr. A. M. Shuey, and partly from the owner of the book himself, who has been connected with the musical life of the city since 1866. A portrait of Mr. Shuey appears with the sketch.

The commission authorized by the legislature of 1915 to consider the advisability of establishing a state park at the Toqua Lakes in Big Stone County submitted its report favoring the proposition to the 1917 legislature on January 15. A statement in this report to the effect that the site is historic by reason of its being the scene of the last fight between the Chippewa and the Sioux in May, 1869, called forth some interesting accounts of the battle which took place at Shakopee in 1858, which the narrators, for the most part eye witnesses of the event, believe was the last hostile encounter between these two tribes. The most notable of these accounts are the following: "Toqua Lake Fight is Called a Myth," by Richard Pfefferle, in the *New Ulm Review* of January 17; "Remembers Last of the Chippewa-Sioux Battles," by Frederick Fritsche, in the *Review* of January 24; and letters by W. H. Smith of Washington and E. J. Pond, son of the well-known missionary, Rev. S. W. Pond, which appeared under the title "Authentic Data on Indian Battle" in the February 9 and 16 issues of the *Scott County Argus* of Shakopee.

A series of articles containing material of some value on the Pillager band of Chippewa Indians at Leech Lake, their uprising in 1862, coincident with the Sioux outbreak, and the later dis-

turbances of 1875, appeared in the *White Earth Tomahawk* for January 4 and 11, in the form of a sketch of Major James Whitehead by Rev. C. H. Beaulieu. Major Whitehead was the junior member of the firm of Sutherland, Rutherford, and Company, which engaged in the fur trade at Leech Lake from 1859 to 1863. He played an important part at various times in assisting the state authorities to bring to punishment members of the Pillager band responsible for acts committed against the whites; and, because of his knowledge of, and influence with, these Indians, he was appointed United States Indian agent at the Leech Lake Agency in 1875.

An account of the first Swedish settlement in Minnesota is published under the title "Settlingen i Minnesota—Chisago Lake eller 'Swede Lake'" in part 3 of the *Chisago County Press* (Lindstrom) for December 21. The article is taken from the journal of the late Dr. Eric Norelius, one of the foremost of the early settlers of the region and the author of a reliable work on the history of his countrymen in America. It contains sketches of many Scandinavian immigrants, some autobiographical material, and an account of the geography, flora, and fauna of the region. Pictures of P. A. Cederstam, the first pastor, of the house of Peter Berg, where church services were first held, and of the old church at Chisago Lake accompany the article.

The January 27 issue of the *Minneapolis Tribune* contained an interesting sketch, by Elizabeth McLeod Jones, of the old village of Traverse des Sioux as seen to-day by the curious visitor and as it appeared in the days of its importance when it was one of the most prosperous trading posts in Minnesota Territory. Mention is made of fur-traders, missionaries, and other well-known pioneers who lived at the post for a time, and some account is given of the treaty negotiated in July, 1851, with the Sioux. The article is accompanied by pictures of several old buildings dating back to the early fifties.

An article in the January 7 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal,* by Mr. John L. Johnson of Minneapolis, contains material on economic conditions and land values in the early days. The Johnson family emigrated from Sweden in 1852, and in 1854 came to St. Paul. Fifteen years later they settled on a tract of

land in Sibley County on the Minnesota River opposite Belle Plaine, a site known as Johnson's Landing in old steamboat days. The son later removed to Minneapolis, where, as a building contractor, he had charge of the erection of the first grain elevator in Minnesota.

In an article contributed to the *Minneapolis Journal* of January 24, Mr. Warren Upham of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society gives an exhaustive account of the first discovery and early explorations of Lake Minnetonka, together with an explanation of the meaning of its name, which was coined by Governor Ramsey. At the conclusion of the article Mr. Upham gives his version of the naming of the city of Minneapolis and an account of the "origin and first use of the name Minnehaha."

Mr. Luther H. Nichols of North Yakima, Washington, whose parents were among the first white settlers of Brown County, in a letter to the *New Ulm Review* of January 24 relates his recollections of events connected with the early history and organization of that county. The experiences of the Nichols family and their neighbors along the Little Cottonwood River during the Sioux outbreak of 1862 are described at some length.

The St. Paul Outdoor Sports Carnival, which took place during the week beginning January 27, furnished the occasion for a descriptive article on the St. Paul ice palace carnivals of 1886, 1887, and 1888, which appeared in the *St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press* for December 17. The material for the article, as well as the accompanying illustrations, was drawn largely from a pamphlet issued as a carnival supplement by the *Dispatch* in 1889. The December 24 issue of the *Sunday Pioneer Press* contained a picture and an account of the Windsor Carnival Club of 1886.

Tales of the social pleasures, festivities, and recreations, and of the hospitality enjoyed by the early-day residents of Minneapolis during the Christmas holiday season are related by Mr. Caleb Dorr, Dr. L. P. Foster, and Mr. Frank O'Brien in the *Minneapolis Journal* of December 24. Reminiscences of a similar nature by Major Edwin Clark of Minneapolis appear in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of the same date.

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE WAR

In one sense at least it may be said that we are entering the Great War as a united people. Nearly every one says, "There was nothing else we could do." Nevertheless, in the minds of many, probably in the minds of a majority, this very common expression implies that it is too bad we could not have done "something else"; too bad, that is, not only because it is always unfortunate to have to wage war, but because for the United States to wage war in Europe means a sharp reversal of our traditional policy, a complete renunciation of that long-established principle of action commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine. While we accept this renunciation willingly enough as a necessity, and some accept it gladly, most of us doubtless accept it with regret, as the lesser of two evils; and probably most of us have been somewhat at a loss to know what could be the meaning of President Wilson's statement that in entering the war we are not really renouncing but only extending the Monroe Doctrine. The average hard-headed citizen has doubtless said to himself, "That is only one of Mr. Wilson's fine phrases, an expression of his idealism."

If the Monroe Doctrine means no more than it seems on the surface to mean, President Wilson's statement is indeed only a phrase, and not a very fine one at that. Superficially interpreted, the Monroe Doctrine seems to mean that since we are isolated and provincial in a geographical sense, we will be so politically. Possessed of a rich and easily defended country, we will ask no favors of Europe and will concede her none. "What have we to do with abroad?" Nothing. We mind our business, and respectfully ask Europe to mind hers. We are in the fortunate position of Little Jack Horner: having got, by our own efforts and the favor of Providence, an excellent Christmas pie, we have only to sit in our corner and eat it.

Now and then, for the edification of less happy peoples, we may very well pull out a plum and say: "Do you see? This is our plum. You eat your plum and we will eat our plum; but you must agree, since we have got such a fine one, that we are a very superior people." Now Mr. Wilson, whether his purpose be to get some of Europe's plum or only to give her some of ours, is clearly asking us to give up this attitude. He requires us to come out of our corner.

It is possible, however, that our motives in adopting the Monroe Doctrine may have been inspired by something more estimable than those of Little Jack Horner, something more justifiable than the mere narrow provincialism and petty selfishness of a people intent only upon being undisturbed in the pursuit of material well-being; in which case Mr. Wilson may be right after all in saying that in entering the European war we are not renouncing but only extending the Monroe Doctrine. But if that is so, then this doctrine must mean something more than it seems on the surface to mean. A consideration of the circumstances which gave rise to the Monroe Doctrine will in fact show, I think, that it was the expression of something more peculiarly American, of something far more important for America and for the world than any mere geographical or political isolation.

The policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine was first clearly expressed by Washington. At that time the United States had but recently and with great difficulty won its independence from Great Britain. The war for independence was justified on the principle that all men have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that accordingly all just governments derive their sanction from the consent of the governed. When independence was won, the government of the United States was founded upon that principle; and from that day to this the guiding ideal of our political and social life has been the right of the people to govern themselves and the obligation of the people to assure, so far as possible, equal opportunity to all citizens. In its origin and in its history the United

States had stood for this or it has stood for nothing. Our whole social enterprise has been, in the estimation of Europe rather more than of America, an experiment in democracy on a large scale, the most momentous attempt in the history of the world to determine whether government of the people, by the people, and for the people might endure permanently.

In the days of Washington this venture of the United States was a fairly novel one, with no brilliant prospects of ultimate success. The newly established government was feeble, the country was loaded with debt, and public opinion was divided over the double danger of political anarchy and executive tyranny. Able men in America and in Europe believed that the United States must sooner or later surrender either its independence or its free government; that its feeble government must either give place to a strong monarchy or in self-defense be drawn into the system of European alliances and so lose the better part of independence. The opposition in the country between the Federalists and the Republican followers of Jefferson was greatly intensified and embittered by the French Revolution; while the European wars made it difficult and at last impossible for the United States to maintain its neutrality and at the same time defend its rights. After submitting to repeated humiliations, after resorting to every measure short of war, the United States at last fought with England the war which is sometimes called the second war of independence.

The policy of the United States during this period found classic expression in the famous Farewell Address of President Washington. "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *Political* connection as possible.— . . . Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties in the

ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities. . . . If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when . . . belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interests guided by our justice shall counsel.—Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?— . . . Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?"

To understand why Washington so strongly urged this policy one must read the entire Farewell Address. It will then be clear that the danger which engaged him most was the danger of internal division. The principal part of the address is concerned with pointing out those evils which threatened to dissolve the union and to place the stamp of failure on the newly established federal government. To prevent this greatest of calamities he urged his countrymen to renounce those class enmities and sectional and party rivalries that were likely to weaken the union of the states; and it was precisely because he felt that entangling alliances abroad would endanger the union and undermine free government that he wished to avoid such alliances. "How many opportunities do they [exaggerated attachments or hostilities to foreign nations] afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! . . . Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government.—But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it."

The situation which gave rise to President Monroe's famous message in 1823 was in some respects different from that which

confronted Washington and Jefferson. The government of the United States had become well established, the people were conscious of their power and wedded to their institutions. At the same time republican governments were being rapidly established in South America, where the revolted Spanish colonies had already practically won independence. In Europe, on the other hand, the public policy of the Great Powers was guided by reactionary ideals. After 1815 the chief aim of the principal states was to prevent a repetition of the stupendous conflicts which had characterized the Napoleonic era. To preserve the peace of Europe, in the opinion of Metternich, who was the guiding spirit, at least after 1818, of the Concert of Europe, it was necessary to maintain the existing political system. The chief danger to the existing political system was manifestly those republican theories spread abroad by the American and the French revolutions. It was therefore the duty of the Great Powers to act in concert in the suppression of all revolutions intended to propagate or establish republican institutions. And, in fact, at the Congress of Verona the four powers of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France resolved that since "the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with monarchical principles as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people is with the divine right," they would bind themselves "mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known." On these grounds revolutions in Italy were suppressed by Austria, France was given a free hand in restoring the Bourbons to the Spanish throne, and it was a mooted question whether the concerted powers had not bound themselves to suppress the South American republics and return them as colonies to Spain.

Under these circumstances the United States again declared its intention not to become implicated in the European system of alliances. In 1820, in an interview with Stratford Canning,

the English minister to the United States, Secretary Adams declared that "the European alliance . . . had . . . regulated the affairs of all Europe without ever calling the United States to their consultations. It was best for both parties that they should continue to do so; for if the United States should become a member of the body they would . . . bring to it some principles not congenial to those of the other members, and those principles would lead to discussions tending to discord rather than to harmony." But, in view of the threatened intervention of the European powers in South America, an intervention based avowedly upon hostility to republican institutions, President Monroe declared in his message of 1823 (the ideas were those of Adams more than of the president) that the "peace and happiness" of the United States would be endangered if the "allied powers should extend their political system" to any portion of the American continent. "The political system of the allied powers," he said, "is essentially different . . . from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens . . . this whole nation is devoted."

It is to be observed that neither Washington nor Monroe supposed that Europe and America should have nothing to do with each other; the main point was that the United States would not enter into the European system of alliances, and would oppose the extension of the European political system to this continent. The most notable attempt to extend the political system of Europe to America occurred during the Civil War, when Emperor Napoleon III, by means of the French army, established an Austrian prince in Mexico on the ruins of her former republican institutions. Against this enterprise the United States protested vigorously; and the grounds of this protest were clearly stated by Secretary Seward in 1865. "The real cause of our national discontent is, that the French

army which is now in Mexico is invading a domestic republican government there which was established by her people . . . for the avowed purpose of suppressing it and establishing upon its ruins a foreign monarchical government, whose presence there, so long as it should endure, could not but be regarded by the people of the United States as injurious and menacing to their own chosen and endeared republican institutions. . . . The people of every State on the American continent have a right to secure for themselves a republican government if they choose, and . . . interference by foreign states to prevent the enjoyment of such institutions deliberately established is wrongful, and in its effects antagonistical to the free and popular form of government existing in the United States."

It can not of course be maintained that the United States has invariably acted with chastened purposes and worthy aims, or that it has never invoked the Monroe Doctrine except for the disinterested and ideal purpose of defending democratic institutions. Nor can it be denied that the policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine has been an expression of our material interests. The historical process does not occur in a vacuum; the motives of individuals or of peoples are not pigeonholed. The Monroe Doctrine is based upon material interests precisely as much or as little as democracy itself. It may be safely said, however, that in the crucial instances of the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine one essential and determining influence has been the incompatibility of European and American political institutions and ideals; and fundamentally our policy has been to protest against the extension of the European political system to America because, on account of that incompatibility, such an extension would endanger our institutions as well as our interests. In this sense the Monroe Doctrine has been the expression of that most deep-seated of American instincts, the attachment to free government and democratic social institutions. It is as if we had said to Europe: "We are bound that this great experiment in democracy shall have a fair

chance. It may fail in the end. If so, let it at least be clearly demonstrated that the failure is due to inherent weaknesses and not to external interference. We propose, if it be a possible thing, to make this part of the world at least safe for democracy."

If this is the essential meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, is there anything in it which should restrain us from joining the Allies against Germany? If this is its essential meaning, are we not on the contrary committed by it to join the Allies against Germany? With the progress of the Great War it has become as clear as day that the vital issue in this stupendous struggle is whether democratic and peaceful, or autocratic and military, ideals are to shape the future destinies of Europe. Few Americans deny that a decisive victory for Germany would be an irremediable defeat for democracy. Can it be supposed, then, that such a defeat for democracy in Europe would not be a menace to democracy in America? Clearly not. A triumphant Germany would be more ominous than the Holy Alliance ever was; England defeated would be a more fatal reverse for the United States in 1917 than the restoration of the South American republics to Spain would have been in 1823. For a hundred years we have asked, and not in vain, that Europe should leave America free to try the great experiment in free government. Now that the better part of Europe is engaged in a desperate and uncertain struggle for the preservation of the very ideals of which we have been hitherto the professed champion, it is the part of wisdom as well as highly fitting that we should have our share in making the world safe for democracy. I can not think that in pledging our lives and our fortunes to bring about that fortunate event the people of the United States, whose country was "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," can be in serious danger of departing from their profoundest traditions.

CARL BECKER

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

SOME POSSIBILITIES OF HISTORICAL FIELD WORK[1]

Historical field work, as considered in this paper, is a form of organized historical effort which, in middle western communities at least, has only of late years achieved the dignity of a distinctive name. Historical societies and institutions have always engaged more or less in field activities, but field work, that is, systematic attempts to exhaust all the practical possibilities in this direction, is a recent development. So defined, field work has to do with the thoroughgoing conservation of the vast, yet unexplored or neglected, historical resources which abound, widely scattered, in every community. Its immediate object is to make known and permanently accessible, preferably in public depositories, all the discoverable materials of history in a community. Its ultimate aim must be to arouse the interest and to secure the coöperation of the community itself. Its successful prosecution, particularly at the beginning, requires the services of special workers whose business it is to go afield into the community highways and byways in search of the hidden document and of the citizen indifferent to the value of historical work, and to compel them, as it were, to come in. Its ideal is a community placed in permanent possession of all its historical treasures and made permanently mindful of their value.

Among the most potent of the factors which are serving to call attention to field work and to spur societies to serious effort in its prosecution, is the influence of changes which are taking place in our conceptions of history and of the function of historical societies. The demands of history, as we are com-

[1] Read in part at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, April 9, 1917, and at the tenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Chicago, April 26–28, 1917.

ing to conceive it, greatly increase the variety and extent of the materials necessary to its production. The "vast ongoing common life" of a community, as one writer has expressed it, as well as the careers of outstanding individuals, must be represented among the sources. The thousand and one insignificant traces and indications of widespread movements and conditions must not be neglected for the one or two records of important events. No phase of the community life, whether it be political, social, economic, or otherwise, can be overlooked. Every period must be regarded as in its way equally important with other periods, and the present must be looked upon as a future past. In other words, there is a new realization of the fact that the ideal history of any community must await the accumulation, or at least the bringing to light, of all discoverable material relating to the life of that community. There is a new consciousness of the incompleteness of sources now available. There is a new sense of the importance of a service which historical societies have long since undertaken to perform. Less now than ever can these societies render that service by taking a receptive attitude or by merely making occasional forays into the field, because much of the newly desired material is especially liable to destruction. Active and extensive campaigns of search and education in the field are therefore plainly necessary.

The conviction that this work ought to be done, as well as the hope that it can be done, are both immensely reinforced by the growing belief that the adequate performance of this and of related tasks is a social duty which historical societies owe to their communities and which communities owe to themselves. The conception of such societies as performing a definite and necessary social function not only gives new force to their obligations but also enables them to appeal more confidently for the coöperation of the people whom they serve. Communities, as such, have already recognized the community-wide importance of historical activity to the extent of according to it varying degrees of sanction and of financial support.

The citizens of a community also, as individuals, may be brought to assist in the actual doing of work—especially that of collecting materials—which their responsible agents, no matter how well endowed, can not accomplish without their help.

Important beginnings of field work have been made in a number of Mississippi Valley states, notably in Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota. In each of these states representatives of central agencies have engaged in field activities of state-wide scope. These efforts have varied in immediate purpose and in method, but all point to the same general end. As the most recently undertaken, the work in Minnesota includes all the significant types of field activity thus far developed in the middle west. An account of the plans, results, and prospects in the Minnesota field may serve to indicate some of the possibilities of systematic field work in general.

The work in Minnesota was begun in September, 1916, with the appointment by the Minnesota Historical Society of a field agent, who was to devote his time to work for the society in various parts of the state. The plan was that the agent should ultimately visit each county and while there make an inventory of the county archives, search for material of historical value in private hands, securing the same for the society whenever possible, and, finally, encourage in every possible way local historical activity. His work has from the first centered upon the definite task of inventorying the county archives. The pursuit of other objects was to depend somewhat upon developments in the field; but the results of the more tentative efforts have been so encouraging and so many new possibilities have arisen that much time has been spent in each county visited, and that, too, at the county seat alone, work in other parts of the county having been temporarily postponed.[2]

[2] Up to May 1, 1917, the county seats of Anoka, Sherburne, Mille Lacs, Washington, and Isanti counties have been visited. Some time has been devoted to field activities in St. Paul and Minneapolis also, and to the discharge, at society headquarters, of duties connected with field work in general.

The work on the county archives is being conducted along the lines followed in the recent survey of the Illinois county records. In the first place, the archives are inventoried; that is, such notes are taken on the character and extent of the records as will furnish the data for all-inclusive and descriptive lists showing the research worker what sort of information he may expect to find in the several depositories. It is the intention that this survey will be conducted in all the counties, and that the final result of this part of the work will be a much-needed guidebook to the county records of the state. In connection with each inventory facts relating to the condition of the records and to methods of keeping and preserving them are noted also, for upon these factors much of the present and future usefulness of the archives for both administrative and historical purposes obviously depends. The information thus gathered will serve as a basis for outlining and urging the enactment of such remedial measures as will then appear to be necessary.

The condition of affairs in Minnesota, as revealed in the five counties visited, is similar in all important respects to the situation in Illinois as discovered and fully set forth in Dr. Pease's volume on the county archives of that state.[3] The inventories reveal the existence of material containing a wealth of information, much of which has not yet found its way into histories. The character of this material may be indicated by an enumeration of a few of the more important groups of records which relate to the life of a whole community, and cover, more or less completely, the period of its political existence. Of these the county commissioners' records constitute the nearest approach to a connected and inclusive account of a county's past, but an amazing amount of instructive detail may be derived from such series as registers of births, deaths, and marriages, probate records, naturalization papers, census sched-

[3] Theodore C. Pease, *County Archives of the State of Illinois (Illinois Historical Collections,* vol. 12, *Bibliographical Series,* vol. 3—Springfield, 1915).

ules,[4] election material, agricultural statistics, abstracts of original entries of government land, assessment rolls, and tax lists. One can not go through these records, even in the cursory manner which suffices for an inventory, without noting numerous separate documents or items of historical and of human interest. At Anoka, for example, are to be found a few records of Manomin County, a diminutive political unit which existed for a few years in the early county-making days, but which is now the township of Fridley, Anoka County. Among the early plats of St. Paul and St. Anthony on file at Stillwater[5] is one, dated 1848, upon which the following notation is inscribed: "St. Anthony city is one mile below the falls of St. Anthony which from the amount of water power and ease with which it is controlled is destin[ed] to be one of the most extensive manufact[ur]ing places in the united states is the only place above St. Paul on the East side of the river where a landing can be made . . . It is the highest point attained by Steamboats being amediately at the foot of the rapids and is unequivocaly destined to be the landing and reshiping point for all the Mississippi valley above." The period of townsite speculation and of "paper towns" is vividly brought to mind by the following statement appended to a delinquent tax list for the year 1857 by an Anoka tax collector: "In regard to the Tax of these lots in Glencarrie," he wrote, "Your Collector would respectfully report that after diligent

[4] A file of census schedules containing the official returns made by Washington County census-takers in connection with national and state censuses from 1850 to 1885, together with a local census of Stillwater taken in 1853, has been transferred to the historical library. While most of this material appears to be duplicated by similar records on file in the state archives, it supplies the lack there of a number of important schedules for 1860 and all the schedules for 1880.

[5] For a number of years prior to the organization of Minnesota Territory in 1849 the region between the St. Croix and the Mississippi rivers, including the sites of St. Paul and St. Anthony, was a part of the old St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, the county seat of which was Dakota, a townsite included within the present limits of Stillwater.

search, he has not been able to find any town by that name." Local officials sometimes found difficulty in knowing just what was expected of them. An instance of this kind appeared in connection with the taking of the 1875 census in Washington County. Census-takers were supplied with printed schedules which called for information about the name, age, sex, color, and condition of each resident in their respective districts. There seems to have been some doubt as to just what was meant by "condition." At any rate all but one of the enumerators failed even to hazard a guess, and that one settled the question simply by reporting the condition of every one in his territory as "good."

The courthouses in which these records are kept are all old buildings which have been more or less well adapted to meet present-day needs. Only one of them appears to be of fireproof construction, but all are equipped with supposedly fireproof vaults. Most of the records are kept in office vaults of brick and cement, or in steel cases in the offices. Three counties make use of basement rooms and vaults for storing large masses of non-current records. In one county the overflow from all the offices is stored in a vault attached to the courthouse. The door of this vault opens into the courthouse yard and is commonly left unlocked. Most of the vaults are equipped with metal filing boxes and shelves, though the old-style pasteboard boxes, wooden shelves, and pigeonholes have by no means been entirely displaced.

The records have suffered by reason of fires, destruction by officials, exposure to dust and damp, lack of space, and faulty methods of filing. In one county the auditor's records for the first thirteen years, covering the period from 1860 to 1873, were practically all destroyed by fire. In two instances, it is said, officials have disposed of old records to make room for new, and the unexplained absence from the archives of a number of record series which are known to have existed is probably attributable to similar action, or at least to neglect, on the

part of other county officers. As a rule records have not been adequately guarded against dust and damp. Not the least serious menace is due to the crowded condition of nearly all vaults and storerooms. Shelves are full and are sometimes packed tight with volumes. Filing boxes, as a general rule, are stuffed so full that to handle the contents without injuring them is difficult, if not impossible. Nearly every vault has its portion of loosely stacked volumes and papers on the floor or on the tops of the filing cases. Large quantities of documents are so compactly folded, doubled, or rolled, and have acquired so firm a set in these forms that one hesitates to disturb a given paper lest to replace it would require a readjustment of all the records.

In very few of these county offices are the records systematically arranged throughout. This is especially true of the noncurrent records, and of the exceptionally large quantity and variety of records in the auditor's offices. Records belonging to a distinct group are seldom kept together. In cases where like records are grouped in a body, they are commonly without serial arrangement. Bound records of the same kind have various titles. The contents of filing boxes are rarely indicated accurately by the labels, and not a few of the latter are wholly misleading. These facts would seem to indicate the prevalence of conditions which seriously threaten the permanence and diminish the utility of county records throughout the state.[6]

An important feature of work in the field is the investigation of local newspapers and newspaper files. Numerous and extensive as are the files of Minnesota newspapers at the state historical library, not all the publications of the state are to be

[6] Thus far it has not seemed advisable to inventory other public records such as those of cities, towns, and villages, but occasion has been taken to make preliminary investigations with a view of doing this in the near future. The first-hand information thus secured serves to strengthen the belief that town, as well as county, archives contain material the character and condition of which should command the attention of historical institutions.

found there and many files are incomplete. Information about local files is therefore sought chiefly with the object of increasing the extent of readily available newspaper material either through accessions to the central collection or through centralized information about supplementary files to be found in the localities. In a large percentage of cases local collections include either whole files or parts of files which are lacking in the central depository. One such file has been secured, and notes made of a number of others not at present obtainable. Two important publications have been added to the number of those regularly received by the society. Lists of all files retained in the localities, whether such files are duplicated in the central depository or not, are placed within the reach of students at the historical library. Furthermore, the attention of publishers is called, if necessary, to the importance of safeguarding their own files, especially those which are not duplicated elsewhere. In one instance where this was done, the publisher supposed that a complete file of his paper was available at the state historical library, and he was surprised to learn that there is a gap of some twenty-four years in this file. On the other hand, the checking-over of a local file not infrequently shows that there are parts of it the existence or lack of which has hitherto been unknown to the publisher. Other facts might be brought out which would further emphasize the value of such a first-hand survey of the entire newspaper resources of the state.

A like systematic, though less exhaustive, search for other material of historical value in private hands is made with a view of acquiring, or at least of locating and listing it. Before going to a county, the agent informs himself of the broad aspects of the county's history, making note of the sort of material to be especially sought out, and of the names of people most likely to have it. For this purpose the much-berated county history is useful, especially in cases where the author has revealed the existence of original source material in the

locality.[7] A bibliography of all material in the historical library relating to the county to be visited is prepared, and the names of members of the Minnesota Historical Society residing in the county are noted, together with such other available data as will facilitate the prompt inauguration of the work both of collecting material and of arousing local interest in historical activity.

Arrived in a community, the agent announces his presence and states his mission in the local newspapers. It is then comparatively easy to get in touch with those who can supplement the information already in hand and thus point the way to a large number of likely prospects. The pioneer, the prominent citizen, the person who is known locally as "a great hand to save everything," or the families of such men, are naturally among those visited. But it may be assumed that every one has something and that records of one kind or another may be looked for everywhere, for they have been found in hovels and in fine homes, in bank vaults and in granaries, in cigar stores and in newspaper offices, in groceries and in vacant houses, though, strange to say, the traditional attic has as yet yielded nothing. Not infrequently the trail leads to places outside of the state and must be followed by means of correspondence conducted for the most part at society headquarters between tours.

The process of getting at and acquiring material is not, however, quite so simple. Without the rights of search and con-

[7] In this and in other respects the history of the county is so closely associated with the historical interests of a local community that all aspects of it come within the range of a field worker's interest. Most of the Minnesota county histories at present in print are the products of commercial enterprise, and exhibit the marked defects characteristic of that type of publication. The appearance from time to time of new works of this class affords the field agent opportunity to make criticisms and suggestions, which appear in reviews of these histories in the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN. It is encouraging to note that one professional writer and editor of commercial histories has shown a desire to coöperate in efforts looking toward the production of more scholarly works.

demnation the agent is compelled to use whatever arts of diplomacy and powers of persuasion he may possess. A hearing is usually accorded, though people are always "busy" (until interested), and one or two very brief interviews have been conducted through slight openings in front doorways. The commonest difficulty lies in getting people to understand that what is wanted is the materials or sources of history rather than historical or reminiscent accounts. That understood, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that very old and curious documents and relics are not the only things of historical value. If, then, it appears that people know what is wanted, that they know or will find out what they have, and will display it, the oftentimes delicate task of getting permission either to inventory or to secure the material for the historical society yet remains. In asking for material a powerful argument is supplied in the many known instances of like material thoughtlessly or accidentally destroyed. A moderate appeal, also, to personal, family, or local pride is seldom without some effect. Whenever material, especially that of undoubted historical value, is not obtainable at the moment, an effort is made to impress upon the owner the importance of safeguarding it, and to secure the promise of its ultimate deposit in the state historical library or in some other suitable public depository.

These activities have resulted already in the acquisition of considerable material and of information, carefully recorded, about material which may yet be secured. The material acquired dates from the last years of the eighteenth century onward, though most of it falls within the last sixty years, and some of it is quite recent. It is largely local in character and is valuable more for the cumulative than for the independent character of its evidence. The printed matter includes such items as works by local authors, old school books, directories, charters and ordinances of cities and villages, publications of local institutions and organizations, and miscellaneous ephemeral matter. The manuscript material includes several collections of letters and papers, one of which comprises thousands

of documents; a number of business account books, which have to do with such matters as logging, lumber manufacturing, mercantile transactions, and river transportation; and a quantity of miscellaneous documents. A number of maps, both printed and manuscript, together with numerous pictures, photographs, and miscellany, make up the remainder.

But valuable as these acquisitions undoubtedly are, they are probably insignificant as compared with what might have been secured had there been time and favorable opportunity for following up all the known prospects, to say nothing of others yet to be discovered. A number of collections were not available when they were located because of their close association with the lives and interests of the owners, who were, in most cases, aged pioneers. Still other material, accounts of which were promising, was stored in such a manner as to render it temporarily difficult of access. The task of inventorying and perhaps of securing two very large collections of records relating to lumbering on the St. Croix had to be deferred because those in authority were either out of town or too busy at the time to give the matter the attention it required. The owner of a very valuable collection of the letters and papers of two pioneer missionaries retained them with the expectation of using the material for publication.[8] Another important collection was withheld in the hope, apparently without much foundation, that some agency in the locality where it originated might be induced to make adequate provision for its preservation and use. Finally, an unknown quantity of material is in the hands of the large number of people who were not reached in the comparatively short periods of time available for this phase of the work.

Some part of this unfinished work may yet be done through correspondence or on return visits, but it is obvious that only one who is permanently on the ground will be in a position to exhaust all of the possibilities. Here is where actively inter-

[8] This collection, when discovered, was about to be taken to a distant city, where it might easily never have come to light.

ested residents and local societies should come in, and it is the field agent's business ultimately to see that they do so. On a first visit, however, the character and extent of his efforts in this direction must be determined largely by the situation as he finds it. It so happens that in the localities thus far visited there is little active interest in local history and so far as this interest goes it is limited to a very few members of the state historical society and one local pioneer association which is predominantly social in character. It has therefore been possible only to commence a work which will be carried to completion as favorable opportunities arise. Of course the very search for material serves at least to call attention to historical activity. Furthermore, every opportunity is seized to acquaint people fully with the character, importance, and needs of the work which the state historical society is doing. Those who appear to be interested and those who ought especially to be interested are invited to join and coöperate with the society. A definite effort is made to enlist the interest of some one person in each locality who will agree to keep a lookout for material; one who will either take steps to secure such material or inform the society about it; one, in short, who will act as a sort of representative of the society in his community. Conferences, also, are held with librarians, teachers, and others that the foundation may be laid for coöperative effort on the part of the historical society and local schools, libraries, newspapers, and organizations. Finally, suggestions are made which, if followed, will facilitate the organization of local historical societies.

When the time is ripe, it is proposed to follow up this work along the lines of some such comprehensive and definite plan as that worked out in Michigan, where a systematic effort is being made to enlist the services of local workers and organizations all over the state in promoting general interest and widespread coöperation in local historical activities of all kinds, with special emphasis at this time on the collection of material. A single worker may in time inventory all the public records

and newspapers and collect considerable privately owned material, but the fate of the public and of undoubtedly large quantities of private records rests with the people as a whole and as individuals. If, therefore, the field agent for the time being is more collector than missionary it is only that so much material as possible may be brought to light without delay and that the unrealized possibilities thereby indicated may be brought the more forcibly to public attention.

Franklin F. Holbrook

Minnesota Historical Society
St. Paul

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

De svenska lutherska församlingarnas och svenskarnas historia i Amerika. By E. Norelius. Volume 2. (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Book Concern, 1916. x, 541 p. Illustrated)

Having spent the greater part of his life in religious work among the Swedes of the Northwest and serving as president of the Augustana Synod from 1874 to 1881 and from 1899 to 1911, Eric Norelius was well fitted to write an extensive history of the Swedes in America. In the first volume of this work, published by the Augustana Book Concern in 1890, Dr. Norelius follows the course of Swedish immigration and describes the Swedish settlements throughout the United States. The material is arranged in three parts, of which the first and last are comparatively short. Part 1 contains a general account of Swedish immigration in America and a specific treatment of the Jansonist settlement at Bishop Hill in Illinois. Part 2 takes up each settlement, its development and church organization, usually concluding with an autobiographical sketch of the most important pastor of the community, with some additional comments on his work. Over two hundred pages of this part relate to Minnesota and contain details concerning a large number of Swedish settlements. Among the outstanding ones are Chisago Lake, St. Paul, Red Wing, and Vasa. Part 3 includes a short history of the Lutheran Church, an explanation of the Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois, the relation of the Scandinavians to this synod, and the conferences held under the union; and, finally, a chapter of a bibliographical nature listing the Swedish books and newspapers published in America up to 1860. Among the chapters of this volume most interesting to the student of history are: chapter 2 of part 1 dealing with emigration in general, showing the influence of Swedes in America upon future emigration and upon the course of emigration, of which the Hedstrom brothers are a striking example; and chapter 5 of part 2 dealing with Chicago, graphically describing the cholera year of 1854

and exemplifying the significance of religion through the work of Pastor Carlsson among the immigrants.

In the second volume, recently issued, Dr. Norelius deals with the history of the Augustana Lutheran Church in America. The volume is divided into four parts, of which the first consists of an account of the withdrawal of the Scandinavians from the Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois and the consequent organization of a Scandinavian synod in 1864. Differences between the Norwegians and Swedes led to the establishment of separate synods in 1870. The growth of Swedish Lutheranism up to the present time is treated at length. Beginning with the eastern states, where manufacturing had created a large class of Swedish industrial workers, the account continues with the congregations of the Middle West, extending through the Mississippi Valley, and concludes with the establishment of Lutheran churches on the Pacific Coast, in the northern Rocky Mountain region, and Utah. Smaller Swedish congregations were also formed in Florida, Alabama, and Alaska—regions which lay outside of the synod geographical districts. The development in organization of the synod forms the subject of part 2. Here the formation of separate Norwegian and Swedish synods in 1870 is again treated and with more detail. Anniversary celebrations, such as the third centenary, in 1893, of the establishment of Lutheranism in Sweden, are described. Accounts of Augustana College, its foundation and location in Chicago in 1860, its removal to Paxton, its second removal to Rock Island, and the celebration of 1910, are scattered throughout this part. Part 3 defines the doctrines of the church and explains the church government. Descriptions, statistical in character, are given of institutions; such as schools, orphanages, hospitals, and homes for the aged, maintained by the synod. The largest division, part 4, is a detailed account with statistics of the twelve conference units of the synod, their organization, growth, and activities. The book concludes with a general summary of both volumes and a statistical résumé.

Although an occasional biographical sketch or description gives an insight into conditions of the time, the second volume stands out predominantly as a history of the Augustana Lutheran Church, based upon church records and reports. Other informa-

tion is incidental, scattered, and fragmentary, sometimes merely a repetition of, or reference to, material in volume 1, which for the student of history other than religious is of greater value. The plan of the two volumes as a whole, the division into parts, and the contents of the parts, might have been better unified, more coherent, and less redundant. Fortunately for the reader, the second volume contains an index, though a meager one, for both volumes, the first having been without one.

Living through the greater part of the period of which he writes, Norelius is able to contribute a wealth of historical material based upon his own observation. He uses, moreover, information furnished by many other men of the time, most of whom appear to have been careful and conscientious in their reports. Norelius selects material judiciously; when in doubt of the authenticity of his information, he indicates the possibility of error. Much that is of interest is brought out in the numerous autobiographical and biographical sketches. An occasional bit of humor adds realism.

In writing the history of the Swedes in America and of their religious development, Norelius contributes much information about pioneer life, particularly in the Northwest. The Lutheran Church performed a great mission in binding the people together not only religiously but socially, serving as a source of education both as a school and a publisher, intelligently guiding and directing emigration, and generously giving spiritual aid and encouragement to the pioneer.

SOLVEIG MAGELSSEN

Stone Ornaments Used by Indians in the United States and Canada; Being a Description of Certain Charm Stones, Gorgets, Tubes, Bird-Stones, and Problematical Forms. By WARREN K. MOOREHEAD. (Andover, Massachusetts, The Andover Press, 1917. 448 p. Illustrated)

The present work is the fourth volume in an excellent series by Mr. Moorehead on the Indians: their stone implements, weapons, and ornaments; their history during the transition period on the reservations set aside for them; and their later progress in civilization and citizenship as part of the body politic.

The ornamental stone artifacts and others of undetermined use herein described have only a scanty representation in Minnesota collections, as shown by the late Professor N. H. Winchell's work for the Minnesota Historical Society, entitled *The Aborigines of Minnesota,* published in 1911. Criteria of age, indicated by patina and weathering, and of distribution, especially as observed in the Lehigh region of Pennsylvania, are briefly discussed by Professor Edward H. Williams. The polished slate artifacts of New York are very instructively described and figured by Arthur C. Parker of the New York State Museum in Albany.

Abundant and admirable illustrations, including 265 figures in the text, five colored plates, and three maps, add greatly to the usefulness of this work. Its bibliography, in seventeen pages, is divided into a general group and the following special groups: amulets, banner-stones, bird-stones, boat-stones, discoidals, pendants, pierced tablets or gorgets, plummets, spatulate forms, hoe-shaped forms, tubes, and miscellaneous objects.

The term "problematical," applied to many of these artifacts, is defined as "meaning, in the strict sense, stones presumably made use of by chiefs, shamans, warriors and women for personal adornment or in ceremonies or during religious rites."

WARREN UPHAM

History of Douglas and Grant Counties, Minnesota; Their People, Industries, and Institutions. CONSTANT LARSON, editor-in-chief. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1916. 509, 693 p. Illustrated)

In the first volume of this work the history of Douglas and Grant counties is presented in separate series of topical narratives which deal in the usual way with such subjects as the beginnings and progress of settlement; the establishment and organization of counties and towns; the development of transportation facilities; the rise of cities and villages; agricultural, industrial, and commercial growth; the establishment and subsequent history of schools, churches, newspapers, and fraternal organizations; the professions; military history; and various "sidelights on county history." The second volume is devoted to biographies for the most part of living residents of the two counties.

About a fifth of the historical volume consists of reprinted material not improperly employed as an historical and descriptive background for the work. A chapter on "Related State History," which appears in nearly all recent Bowen publications, serves as an introduction to the county histories. The chapters on the geology of the two counties are taken (without acknowledgment) from volume 2 of the *Final Report* of the Minnesota Geological and Natural History Survey. A long chapter, entitled "The Kensington Rune Stone; an Ancient Tragedy," is for the most part a reprint of the preliminary report of the museum committee of the Minnesota Historical Society on the subject of the authenticity of this alleged ancient record,[1] although the report is not given quite "in full" as stated. In view of the fact that this famous stone was unearthed in Douglas County and that the question of the origin of its inscription is still a matter of dispute among archeologists, it is not surprising that considerable space should be devoted in the present work to this mass of evidence pro and con. The editor himself expresses no opinion and calls attention to the fact that, contrary to a more or less prevalent impression, the Minnesota Historical Society has never taken sides in the controversy, the last official statement being "that the Council and Society reserve their conclusion until more agreement of opinions for or against the rune inscription may be attained." Another passage of some length, and also of no little historical interest, is taken from a series of articles entitled "To Red River and Beyond," which appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* one of which, published in August, 1860, contained an account of the passage of the writer and his party through the region of Douglas County. The "anonymous magazine writer," the author of the series, was Manton Marble, a New York journalist, who later became owner and editor of the *New York World.*

The histories proper of the two counties are made up of intermingled historical narratives, statistical material, and accounts descriptive of present-day conditions. Of special interest to students of Minnesota history are the portions which deal with the situation in this region at the time of the Sioux outbreak of 1862 and with the process of organizing the counties. The

[1] *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15: 221–286.

former accounts furnish an admirable illustration of the double effect of the Indian war in retarding and in advancing settlement. In the matter of county organization a number of interesting features are brought out. Each county was created at a time when there were few, if any, settlers in that part of the territory. Douglas County was created in 1858, the very year in which permanent settlement began. The next year, however, according to this account, "a move was started to organize Douglas for administrative purposes . . . and an election was held. . . . Not all of the settlers were willing thus to assume the responsibilities of government and it is narrated that only a few voted. The returns of the election therefore were not recognized by the authorities and the election was held to be void. . . . Not long after," the governor, under legislative authorization, appointed a board of commissioners, who, in turn, appointed a register of deeds, a sheriff, and a probate judge. "This organization was maintained until the time of the Indian outbreak, when it . . . was abandoned and all records that had been made were lost." It was not until 1866 that a permanent and complete organization was effected. Grant County, created in 1868, was first fully organized in 1873. The governor had previously appointed three county commissioners, and it is said that "in 1872, Peter N. Smith and Henry Secor, two lawyers from Otter Tail county, came down and induced the county commissioners to appoint a full set of officers, with Secor as auditor and Smith as county attorney. These officers evidently never held their positions legally, as they left no official record, and their presence here is known only through tradition."

In the chapter on "Sidelights on [Douglas] County History" are presented extracts from a number of reminiscent letters called forth on the occasion of the "home-coming week" celebrated at Alexandria in June, 1916. It may be well to note in this connection that such an occasion also affords an excellent opportunity for bringing together and preserving such tangible records of the past as the home-coming or homeward-looking former residents of a community may possess.

In general the work calls for the same sort of commendation and criticism as is to be found elsewhere in these pages in reviews of other commercial histories. The narrative, however, in many

places shows a somewhat keener sense of historical perspective, a more critical use of material, and a fuller appreciation of the value of intimate detail than is commonly the case with writers of such histories. On the other hand, it would seem that a more thoroughgoing search for, and exhaustive investigation of, local material, both public and private, would have resulted in a fuller treatment of certain phases of the subject at least. It is to be regretted that more attention was not paid, for instance, to the causes, progress, and influence of the notable influx of Scandinavians, and of the local aspects of the career of the most noted resident of the region, Senator Knute Nelson.

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

The Story of Minnesota. By E. DUDLEY PARSONS, instructor in English, West High School, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (New York, etc., American Book Company, 1916. 336 p. Illustrated)

Our Minnesota; a History for Children. By HESTER MCLEAN POLLOCK, teacher of history and civics in the St. Paul high schools. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1917. xiii, 373 p. Illustrated)

These volumes, written especially for children, supply a need, which has for a long time been apparent, of a textbook on the history of Minnesota suitable for use in the grade departments of the public schools of the state. *The Story of Minnesota* is similar in form to other textbooks of this character, each chapter having its material arranged under black-letter topical headings and concluding with the customary summary, suggestive questions, and references to sources. In such texts the material must of necessity be treated in the briefest manner possible. Mr. Parsons, by a judicious selection of topics and by the use of a moderate amount of detail, has succeeded in placing before his young readers in satisfactory form the history of the early periods of exploration, settlement, and political organization. He devotes the latter half of the book to an account of the rapid development of the natural resources of the state, of its growth in population, of its advance along economic, social, and educational lines, of the men who have wisely and capably directed

and contributed to this development, and of the part which the state has played in the larger life of the nation. Comprehensive summaries of the machinery of local and state government and a discussion of the duties of citizens form the concluding chapters of the book.

The usefulness of Mr. Parsons' book is greatly lessened, however, by numerous errors and questionable statements which it contains. Most of the errors are due to a carelessness which is quite inexcusable in one who purposes to write history. The painting "Father Hennepin Discovering St. Anthony Falls," reproduced on page 24, hangs in the governor's reception room of the capitol rather than in the historical library; and the painting given on page 116 is not "owned by the Minnesota Historical Society," nor was it executed by "Frank B. Mayer," but by Frank G. Millet. The *Minnesota Historical Collections* are constantly referred to as the *"Minnesota Historical Society Papers,"* and the Northwest Company is always called the "Northwestern Fur Company." Critical historians now consider it quite unlikely that Carver ascended the Minnesota "as far as Big Stone Lake" (p. 35); and Carver does not make any reference "in his journal" to "a grant of land which two Indian chiefs made in his favor" (p. 36). The first mention of the grant appeared in Dr. Lettsom's introduction to the third London edition (1781) of Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America,* brought out after Carver's death. On page 47 Pike is quoted as saying that "1,000,000 acres . . . was obtained [by the treaty with the Indians in 1805] for presents of the value of two hundred dollars . . . and a promise binding the Senate to pay two thousand dollars." This statement does not appear in this form either in Pike's journal or in his letter to General Wilkinson. His estimate of the number of acres acquired was 100,000, and the amount to be paid by the United States was left blank in the original articles. The Senate, ratifying the treaty in 1808, stipulated that the amount should be two thousand dollars. Mr. Parsons' ideas of geography are somewhat confused when he declares on page 41, "Beyond [west of the Mississippi] was Louisiana, stretching from the Rainy River to the Gulf of Mexico." His statement on page 60 that if a person had "been born in eastern Minnesota in 1783, he would have been under

the rule of France, England, and the United States . . . before his threescore years and ten had been completed" is incorrect, since France did not have title to any land in Minnesota east of the Mississippi after 1763. One can not fail to wonder from what source Mr. Parsons took his population statistics for 1849 (p. 102). His items do not in any particular agree with those of the census of 1849 as given in the *Council Journal* for 1849 (p. 183). He assigns to St. Paul, for instance, a population of 2,920, whereas the census count shows that the town contained 840 persons. Dakota County is omitted from the list of counties established by the first territorial legislature of 1849 (p. 102). These and many other misstatements should be corrected in a second edition.

Mr. Parsons has made his text more interesting and instructive by the use of numerous illustrations. Those which are reproductions from photographs are valuable adjuncts. Drawings for a work of this character, however, unless executed by one who is well acquainted with the period, are likely to contain anachronisms which render them valueless. Some of those which are found in Mr. Parsons' book are open to this criticism and might well have been omitted, particularly the one representing "Radisson and Groseilliers with the Indians"—all mounted on horses! The lists of references at the close of the chapters would be of more service if they contained more definite information about publishers, date and place of publication, and number of pages.

Our Minnesota, while undeniably written for children, does not follow the conventional form of textbooks. The narrative is rather long; and it is so encumbered with a mass of details as to be burdensome and confusing. The propriety of devoting, in a school history, forty-four pages to an account of the Sioux and Chippewa Indians, twenty-four pages to the development of transportation facilities, and eighteen pages to the various exploratory expeditions to the upper Mississippi and lake region may well be questioned. The material of the book is not organized in accordance with a definite, well-ordered plan, and there is a noticeable lack of coherence and unity. Very little regard has been paid to the chronology of events—a method of treatment which naturally results in needless repetition. An account of the various treaties by which the Indians surrendered to the

government their title to lands within the territory precedes the chapter (6) dealing with the exploration period. The various exploratory expeditions to the Mississippi from the time of De Soto to the days of Schoolcraft are described in chapter 14, although much of the same material appears in chapter 6. A chapter devoted to the Civil War and to the Sioux outbreak is placed between chapters dealing with agricultural development and the history of transportation respectively, both phases of the state's history being traced from the earliest days to the present time. Miss Pollock has given us therefore not a connected history of Minnesota, but a series of sketches.

No footnote references to sources are given, the author contenting herself with a statement in the preface that "the sources which have been used are to be found largely in the diaries and papers of the Minnesota Historical Society, reliance put largely upon the statements of those who helped to make the history here related." The book is not entirely free from errors. Thomas Jefferson did not "make" the Ordinance of 1787 (p. 59). It was Schoolcraft and not Boutwell "who named Lake Itasca" (p. 103). When Henry H. Sibley came to Mendota, he made the trip on horseback from Prairie du Chien instead of from Traverse des Sioux, and he had the distinction of being a partner in the American Fur Company rather than one of its agents (p. 139). The statement (p. 159) that "when the territory began, there were only four counties" is not correct; the first territorial legislature created nine counties, three of which were declared to be organized counties. John Hawkins had played his part in the slave trade and gone the way of all bold seamen long before 1619 (p. 205).

Our Minnesota has, however, admirable qualities which go a long way toward offsetting these defects. Its author has been for many years an enthusiastic lover of Minnesota and its history. She is keenly aware of all the natural beauties of the state; of the romance and adventure which underlie so much of its history; and of all the economic, educational, and social advantages which operate to make it a wholly desirable place in which to live. Along with other educators she has advocated teaching to children the responsibilities of citizenship, but with more far-seeing wisdom than some, she has sensed that if children love

"the place where they live . . . care and responsibility for it will grow as a natural result." With this ideal in view, she has written this series of sketches, drawing with a loving and appreciative touch vivid pictures of the red men, the adventurous explorers, the fur-traders, and the pioneers, and investing each bare statement of fact and narration of event with vitality and interest. She leaves us at the last page with a feeling that her Minnesota has become "our Minnesota."

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

At the stated meeting of the executive council April 9, Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, the society's field agent, presented a report on his work and a discussion of the possibilities of historical field work.

The legislature appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars a year for the maintenance of the society during the biennium beginning August 1, 1917. This increase of five thousand dollars over the annual appropriations for the last ten years will barely cover the increased expenses due to the general rise in prices and will not permit any considerable expansion of the activities of the society.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending April 30, 1917: Professor Carl D. A. F. Abbetmeyer of St. Paul; Hjalmar Anderson of Rush City; Rev. Philip Gordon of White Earth; Cyril A. Herrick of Minneapolis; Hiram M. Hitchcock of Redwood Falls; Mrs. Marie L. Bottineau Baldwin of Washington, District of Columbia; and O. G. Boisseau of Holden, Missouri. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Bishop Samuel C. Edsall of Minneapolis, February 17; Hon. Orlando B. Turrell of Redwood Falls, March 10; Lycurgus R. Moyer of Montevideo, March 14; Josiah Paine of Harwich, Massachusetts, March 14; and General Judson W. Bishop of St. Paul, March 19. All were active members except Mr. Paine, who was a corresponding member.

The *Western Magazine* for March contains an article entitled "The Minnesota Historical Society, an Exposition of the Importance of Its Public Work," by Franklin F. Holbrook, field agent of the society. Accompanying the article is a picture of the new building.

The inventory of the public archives of Minnesota, compiled by Mr. Herbert A. Kellar in 1915 under the joint auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society and the public archives commission

of the American Historical Association, has been reprinted from the *Annual Report* of the association for 1914 with the title *A Preliminary Survey of the More Important Archives of the Territory and State of Minnesota* (Washington, 1916. Pp. 385–476). Mr. Kellar's survey consists of detailed lists of the papers and records in the offices of the governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state auditor, state treasurer, adjutant general, clerk of the supreme court, superintendent of education, insurance department, railroad and warehouse commission, department of grain inspection, department of weights and measures, dairy and food department, and state drainage engineer. As the present location of files in the vaults and offices is indicated, the work will greatly facilitate the consultation of the records for administrative as well as for historical purposes. The outstanding conclusion to be drawn from the report is that there is great need of more adequate provision for the arrangement and preservation of these fundamental materials for the history of Minnesota. "In most cases the officials have made the best use of what opportunities there were for safe-guarding archives; but, with the exception of those in the regular office vaults in the new capitol, there is no guarantee of safety from fire and water." Almost equally serious is the disorderly condition of many of the older records, exposed to dirt and in danger of destruction as waste paper. It is to be hoped that the legislature will ultimately provide the necessary funds for the establishment of an archives department in the new Minnesota Historical Society Building.

GIFTS

From Judge Grier M. Orr the society has received a collection of about seventy miscellaneous pamphlets, some of which are of considerable value for Minnesota history, and a partial file of the *Minnesota Law Journal* published from 1893 to 1898. Numbers 2, 3, and 5 to 8 inclusive of volume 1, numbers 4 and 5 of volume 4, and number 9 of volume 5 are needed to complete the file.

From Joseph R. Murtaugh, manager of the Bronson-Folsom Towing Company, Stillwater, have been received six account books of trips made in 1908 and 1909 by the "Clyde," a steamer

engaged in rafting logs and lumber on the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers between Stillwater and Dubuque, Iowa. The record of each trip includes detailed accounts of expenditures for labor, fuel, food, and sundries, the "log book," and an account of rafts received and delivered.

Mr. Cass Canfield has presented a small, attractively bound volume published by himself, containing a number of letters found among old papers belonging to his great grandfather Lewis Cass. The collection, issued under the title *General Lewis Cass, 1782–1866* (1916. 41 p.), includes letters to Cass from James Monroe, Louis Philippe, Andrew Jackson, and James Buchanan, and two written by Cass himself.

Besides three volumes of *Indiana Historical Collections* and eight numbers of its *Bulletin,* the Indiana Historical Commission has presented a copy of the medal designed by Miss Janet Saddler and struck in commemoration of the centennial of the admission of Indiana to the Union in 1816. This is mounted in an attractive booklet containing information about the medal, the centennial, and the history of the state. The copy received is number 904 of 918 proofs, and the booklet contains the personal autograph of Governor Samuel M. Ralston.

The Rice Statue Commission has presented the society with a copy of a book entitled *Statue of Henry Mower Rice* (Washington, 1916. 90 p.), in which are printed the proceedings at Statuary Hall, in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives on the occasion of the presentation and acceptance of the statue of Henry M. Rice. A photogravure reproduction of the statue forms the frontispiece of the volume.

Copies of the *New York Evening Post* of February 8 and 9, 1815, have been presented by Mr. H. N. Westaway of Duluth. The latter of these issues is especially interesting as it contains the news of the battle of New Orleans.

From Miss Julia Crooks of St. Paul has been received an annotated copy of Irving's *Astoria* formerly the property of her grandfather Ramsay Crooks and said to have been presented to him by the author.

The society has received from Mr. Frederic W. Pearsall of Granite Falls a very good specimen of the ancient cloth woven by the Sioux women a hundred or more years ago. It is in the form of a bag about seven inches wide and five inches deep. In the earliest time the yarn employed in the manufacture of the cloth was spun from the shredded bark of nettles or basswood trees; later worn-out woolen cloth was utilized. Both sorts of yarn were apparently used to make the bag just acquired.

A photograph of eight members of the Fifth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, taken in St. Paul in 1896, at the time of the thirtieth national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, has been received from Charles A. Rose, document clerk in the office of the secretary of state.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The *Proceedings* of the Eleventh Annual Conference of Historical Societies (Washington, 1916. Pp. 291–348) has been issued as a separate of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1914. It contains papers on "The Chicago Historical Society," by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt; "Research in State History at State Universities," by James A. Woodburn; and "Restrictions on the Use of Historical Materials," by Lawrence J. Burpee. Discussions of the last two papers are also reported. An appendix contains summary reports of the activities during the year of ninety-three historical societies in the United States and Canada. Because of the unavoidable delay in the publication of these *Proceedings* as a part of the *Annual Reports* of the American Historical Association, a condensed report of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of Historical Societies, held in Cincinnati, December 28, 1916, has been issued independently (15 p.). It contains brief abstracts of papers on the affiliation or federation of state and local historical societies in Pennsylvania, Ontario, Michigan, Illinois, and Massachusetts; also the usual summary reports of the activities of eighty-seven societies. At this last conference a plan of organization as a semi-independent body under the auspices of the American Historical Association was adopted.

The *Fifteenth Report* of the public archives commission of the American Historical Association, edited by Victor H. Paltsits, chairman, has been reprinted from volume 1 of the *Annual Report* of the association (1916. Pp. 349–476). It consists of a brief statement of archive progress during the year and of two appendixes. One of these is the survey of the Minnesota archives noted elsewhere in this issue, and the other comprises the "Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of Archivists," which was held in connection with the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago in December, 1914. This includes papers on "Legislation for Archives," by Charles H. Rammelkamp, and "Principles of Classification for Archives," by Ethel B. Virtue.

The tenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Chicago, April 26, 27, and 28, 1917. The headquarters and most of the sessions were in the building of the Chicago Historical Society. Among the papers read at the meeting the following are of special interest to students of Minnesota history: "Glimpses of Some Old Mississippi River Posts," by Louis Pelzer of the State University of Iowa; "The Military-Indian Frontier, 1830–1835," by Ruth Gallaher of the State University of Iowa; "Fur-Trading Companies in the Northwest, 1763–1816," by Wayne E. Stevens of the University of Minnesota; "Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work," by Franklin F. Holbrook of the Minnesota Historical Society; "The Influence of the West on the Rise and Decline of Political Parties," by Homer C. Hockett of Ohio State University; and "A Plan for the Union of the United States and British North America, 1866," by Theodore C. Blegen of Milwaukee. The president's address, by Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin, dealt with "The Rise of Sports, 1876–1893." At the business session St. George L. Sioussat was elected president and Mrs. Clara Paine of Lincoln, Nebraska, secretary-treasurer. The sentiment of the members present was in favor of holding the 1918 meeting in St. Paul, but the final decision was left to the executive committee.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1915–16 comprises part 1 of volume 9 and is issued as an extra number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (1917. 206 p.). It contains an account of the ninth annual meeting at Nashville in April, 1916, by Beverly W. Bond Jr., reports of officers and committees, the president's address by Dr. Dunbar Rowland on "The Mississippi Valley in American History," and such of the papers read at the ninth annual meeting as have not been printed elsewhere. The report of the committee on the management of state historical museums consists of "Notes on Some Western Museums," by the chairman, Charles E. Brown.

The Indiana Historical Commission, which was established two years ago to promote the proper observance of the centennial of the state's admission to the Union, has issued a series of eight

Bulletins, of which the last two comprise a formal report of the activities of the commission to December 1, 1916, and an account of the final celebration at Indianapolis on December 11 (42, 29 p.). Of special interest also is number 6 of these *Bulletins* entitled *Organization of County and Local Historical Societies,* by Harlow Lindley. This contains an excellent statement of the objects and advantages of such societies and a list of thirty-one already organized in the state. The constitutions and by-laws of several of these are printed as models. The desire of the commission that some of the permanent results of its work should be along the lines of the preservation of the materials for Indiana history has brought about the publication of three volumes of *Indiana Historical Collections.* These comprise *Constitution Making in Indiana,* a *Source Book of Constitutional Documents,* by Charles Kettleborough (1916. 2 v.), and *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, a Collection of Reprints from Books of Travel, Letters, and Diaries, Prior to 1830,* edited by Mr. Lindley (1916. 596 p.).

The *Twenty-ninth Report* of the Commissioner of Public Records of Massachusetts, for the year 1916 (8 p.) illustrates the way in which that state looks after its archives. The records of 165 counties, cities, and towns were inspected during the year with reference to their "care, custody, and protection against fire"; several towns and counties were required to have part of their records repaired, renovated, or bound; and one volume which had been in private hands was restored through court proceedings to the town to which it belonged. The commission also assisted a legislative committee "in making a complete survey of the public records in the offices of the State House and in formulating recommendations in connection with them." Although fires occurred in four buildings in which local records were preserved, no documents were destroyed because of provisions which had been made for their safeguarding.

Prize Essays Written by Pupils of Michigan Schools in the Local History Contest for 1915–16 is the title of number 8 of the *Bulletins* of the Michigan Historical Commission (1917. 35 p.). This contest was arranged and the prizes were furnished by the Michigan Daughters of the American Revolution and the Michi-

gan Federation of Women's Clubs. Similar contests are to be held each year and will doubtless be very helpful in arousing interest in local history throughout the state.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has brought out as number 85 of its *Bulletins of Information* a *List of Portraits and Paintings in the Wisconsin Historical Museum* (1916. 22 p.).

Bulletin number 1, descriptive of the museum and library of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, has been issued by the society (1917. 24 p.). The pamphlet is illustrated with photographs of a number of exhibits in the museum.

The Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, has begun the publication of a periodical entitled the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* the first number of which is dated January 8, 1917.

Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit began last October the publication of a series entitled *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection,* three numbers of which have now been issued (112 p.). The documents so far published relate in the main to the Northwest from 1754 to 1806 and are valuable contributions to history. They are edited by M. Agnes Burton.

A work full of suggestion for all students of conditions affecting the character, progress, and course of settlement in a new region is George N. Fuller's *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan,* published by the Michigan Historical Commission as the first number of its *University Series* (Lansing, 1916. lxxii, 630 p.). Intended to introduce rather than to exhaust the subject, the work is limited to "a study of the settlement of the lower peninsula during the territorial period, 1805–1837," and is based largely upon information derived from state and local histories, the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* early newspapers, and other readily available sources. Within these recognized limits the author has produced an elaborately conceived and comprehensive work which may well serve as an inspiration and a guide to any who may undertake similar studies in the field of Minnesota history.

In view of the recent entrance of the United States into the European war and the probable absence from their election districts of thousands of voters for an indefinite period of time,

Josiah H. Benton's *Voting in the Field, a Forgotten Chapter of the Civil War* (Boston, 1915. 332 p.) is of especial interest. At the outbreak of the Civil War there was no legislation in force by which a soldier or sailor could vote anywhere outside of the district in which he resided. The injustice of this situation was quickly recognized in both the North and the South. Mr. Benton has treated at some length "the history of legislation or an attempt to legislate in every Southern State except four,—Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas; and in every Northern State except Oregon," whereby this injustice might be remedied, a chapter being devoted to each state. The various sources of opposition to such legislation, the methods of voting in the field employed, and the results of the inclusion of the soldiers' votes in the succeeding elections are particularly brought out.

Evangeliets Seier (Minneapolis, 1916. 256 p.), edited by Pastor Th. Himle, is published in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Hauge Synod Chinese Mission, held in Red Wing, Minnesota, 1916. The book contains songs, sermons, reports, and letters, many written by the men and women actively engaged in the missionary work under the auspices of the synod. The biographical sketches, accompanied by photographs, are largely of Minnesota people. The greater part of the book, however, deals with conditions in China, the need of religious teaching, and the progress of the Lutheran mission work.

In order "to save . . . some portraits and observations that might otherwise be lost" Waldemar Ager has collected and edited in *Oberst Heg og Hans Gutter* (Eau Claire, Wisconsin, 1916. 327 p.) letters and diaries written by members of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment. The organization of a Norwegian regiment was formally begun at a meeting of Norwegians, recently arrived in America, held in Madison, September 15, 1861. Norwegians, some of whom came from or later lived in Minnesota, made up over ninety per cent of the regiment. A short description is given of the reunion of May 17, 1914, at the Minnesota State Fair Grounds.

Nordmænd og Norske Hjem i Amerika (Fargo, North Dakota, 1916. 208 p.) is the title of a book by Hans Jervell, published for the purpose of showing what Norwegians have done for the

development of the Northwest and incidentally to encourage the bygdelag societies. The book contains biographical sketches of Norwegians grouped according to the bygdelag from which they emigrated.

Along the Scenic Highway (96 p.) and *Opportunities along the Scenic Highway through the Land of Fortune* (151 p.) are two recent publications of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. The former, attractively illustrated, covers the "historical, scenic, physical and railway features" of the region traversed by the railroad. The latter contains statistical data on the schools, churches, professions, industries, and commercial houses of cities and towns along the Northern Pacific line, the prevailing nationality of the population in each case being included.

A full account of the exercises in connection with the dedication of the monuments erected to Minnesota officers and soldiers who lost their lives in the Civil War and are buried in the national military cemeteries at Little Rock, Arkansas, Memphis, Tennessee, and Andersonville, Georgia, which occurred September 22–26, 1916, is contained in the *Report* (74 p.) recently issued by the Minnesota commission appointed by the legislature of 1913 to have charge of the placing of these memorials.

Janney, Semple, Hill & Co., Minneapolis, 1866–1916 is the title of a handsome book issued by this house to mark the fiftieth anniversary of its founding (62 p.). The history of the enterprise from its beginning as a retail hardware and stove business under the name of Janney and Moles to its present position as one of the leading jobbing houses of the Northwest forms an important chapter in the economic history of Minneapolis and of the entire state. Brief biographies of the men who have been prominently connected with the management of the business throughout its history and numerous illustrations add to the value of the publication.

The Third Infantry Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Association has issued the *Proceedings* of its thirty-second annual reunion, held at Minneapolis, September 6, 1916 (20 p.). A list of the members of the association recently deceased, reminiscent letters from absent comrades, and a memorial sketch of Major

James M. Bowler, by General C. C. Andrews, are noteworthy features of the pamphlet.

On October 14 and 15, 1916, a "Reunion of Old Boys" was held at Rochester, Minnesota, an account of which has recently been published by Charles N. Chadbourn of Minneapolis (61 p.). The pamphlet contains also a "List of Old Rochester Boys" and a panorama photograph of a group of those who attended the reunion.

An historical sketch of the Minnesota Boat Club, organized in St. Paul in 1870, is published in the spring, 1917, issue of *Corning's Quarterly Razoo*. The article is illustrated with photographs of a number of men who played a prominent part in the organization during its early years.

The April issue of the *Western Magazine* contains a sketch of Alexander Ramsey by the late Return I. Holcombe. The article is the first of a series entitled "State Builders of the West."

Under the title "Early Day Thrills Written by Pioneer," the *Mankato Daily Free Press* of April 16 prints a review and summary of Captain Potter's "Recollections" published in the November issue of the BULLETIN.

The problem of how the state of Minnesota may fittingly express in concrete form its recognition of the services rendered by one of its foremost citizens, Henry H. Sibley, seems about to be solved. The legislature of 1917 authorized the appointment by the governor of a committee to investigate the feasibility of the construction of a highway to be known as the General Sibley Memorial Highway. Starting at the junction of Chippewa Avenue and Annapolis Street, West St. Paul, the proposed highway is to follow the Mississippi River bluff until it reaches the limits of Mendota, whence it is to form a suitable approach to the Sibley House, which is located in the village and which, since 1910, has been in the possession and care of the Minnesota Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The project includes the setting-aside of a park to be called the Sibley State Park, which in extent shall conform to the limits of the tract generally known as "Happy Hollow."

Following an annual custom, the Native Sons of Minnesota observed the sixty-eighth anniversary of the organization of Minnesota Territory with a banquet and appropriate exercises at the West Hotel, Minneapolis, March 3. Judge J. W. Willis of St. Paul delivered an address on the history of territorial Minnesota, sketching briefly the leading events, tracing the Indian origin of a few geographic names, and relating incidents about some of the better known men of that period. Dr. H. M. Bracken of the Minnesota State Board of Health in a short talk emphasized the need of a more adequate system of the keeping of vital statistics, particularly of the registration of births.

The Pioneer Rivermen's Association held its annual meeting at the rooms of the Midway branch of the St. Paul Association on February 23. Twenty of the forty-three members were in attendance. A number of veterans in the packet service were called upon for brief speeches. Captain O. F. Knapp told of his carrying of DeHaven's Mammoth Circus up the Minnesota River on the "G. E. Knapp" in 1863, and William Cairncross of St. Paul described a trip of the "Dr. Franklin" up the Chippewa in 1848. An important action of the association was the tender to the government, in the event of war, of the services of its members as professional pilots on the Mississippi River. Samuel R. Van Sant was reëlected president, and Fred A. Bill, secretary-treasurer. A full account of the meeting was contributed to the March 3 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa) by Mr. Bill.

A movement, led by Dr. Herman Fjelde of Fargo, North Dakota, has been inaugurated among the Scandinavians of the Red River Valley to collect material pertaining to their early settlement in that region. An account of the project, together with information concerning the first Scandinavian settlers in the valley, appeared in the *Crookston Weekly Times* of February 3, under the title "Valley Folks Will Compile Norse History."

The fifty-eighth annual meeting of the Winona County Old Settlers' Association was held at Winona, February 22. About five hundred and fifty pioneers, including representatives from every section of the county, were in attendance at the dinner. The following officers were reëlected for the coming year: H. L.

Buck, president; J. T. Blair, vice-president at large; Mrs. A. A. Marvin, secretary; and Edward Pelzer, treasurer. An executive committee of eight members and a vice-president from each town of the county were chosen. The principal speaker at the exercises following the business meeting was Edward Lees of Winona, who, after giving a brief description of the region of Winona County as it appeared to Lieutenant Pike and Major Long, in 1805 and 1823 respectively, devoted the greater part of his address to an account of the early settlement of the county and to a comparison of the economic and social conditions of pioneer days with those of the present time. Mr. Lees's address is printed in full in the *Winona Herald* of February 22.

The Red Lake County Old Settlers' Association was formally organized on April 20 at Red Lake Falls. The following officers were elected: Eli Lasha, president; Evangeliste Quesnell, vice-president at large; E. B. Buse, secretary; A. J. Pouliot, treasurer; Frank Jeffers, historian; a vice-president was named from each town, village, and community in the county. Membership in the association is limited to those who have resided in the county for thirty-five years or more. The names of seventy-six of the charter members, together with the dates of their settlement in the county, were published in the March 22 and 29 issues of the *Red Lake Falls Gazette.*

About one hundred and fifty former residents of St. Peter living in Minneapolis and St. Paul met at the rooms of the St. Paul Association, April 14, and organized the St. Peter Association of the Twin Cities. The exercises following the banquet were presided over by Thomas J. McDermott of St. Paul. Gideon S. Ives of St. Paul, Judge E. A. Montgomery of Minneapolis, State Senator Henry N. Benson of St. Peter, and Judge Henry Moll of St. Peter made short addresses giving their recollections of the early history of St. Peter, and Superintendent C. G. Schulz of St. Paul discussed the educational influence of St. Peter in the Northwest. T. J. McDermott was elected president of the association, Miss Hermine Konig of Minneapolis, corresponding secretary, and Oswald D. Curtis of St. Paul, treasurer.

A permanent association of former residents of Murray County living in Minneapolis and St. Paul was organized at their first

annual meeting on April 14 in St. Anthony Park. Mr. Ira C. Peterson of Minneapolis was elected president, Mr. J. A. Maxwell of St. Paul, secretary and treasurer, and Mr. Neil Currie of St. Paul, historian, of the association. The names of heads of families eligible for membership were published in the *Fulda Free Press* of April 27.

The sixtieth anniversary of the organization of Plymouth Congregational Church of Minneapolis was celebrated on April 26. In a series of four-minute talks the various periods and phases of the history of the church were covered briefly.

A list of the first settlers of Winnebago City Township, Faribault County, with the dates of their arrival, is published in the *Winnebago City Press-News* of February 24.

A biography of Peter Maurin has been appearing serially in *Wheelock's Weekly* (Fergus Falls) since January 25. The series contains some valuable material on the early history of Stearns and Otter Tail counties, particularly as relates to the development of business enterprises and of methods of transportation. Mr. Maurin was born in the province of Carniola, Austria, and, with his brother Marcus, came to Minnesota in 1859. They at once embarked in the business of selling merchandise, going from place to place throughout the central part of the state, at first carrying their packs on their shoulders, later traveling with horses and wagons. In 1864 they settled at Cold Spring, Stearns County, where they soon built up an extensive trade in merchandise, grain, and fur. In 1871 Peter Maurin removed to Elizabeth, Otter Tail County, and was engaged in business there until his death in August, 1914.

Mr. W. V. Working of Henderson contributed to the April 5 issue of the *Belle Plaine Herald* an account of an old cave on Ney hill in Tyrone, not far from where Scott, Sibley, and Le Sueur counties meet. The cave is an excavation made during the summer of 1862 by a small band of pioneers living in the vicinity as a place of refuge from the Indians. The writer's description of the little settlement and of its experiences during the Sioux outbreak is based on the recollections of Mrs. John Brahs of Henderson, the sole survivor of the pioneer Tyrone settlement.

Interesting and valuable incidents in the musical history of Minneapolis were contributed to the February 18 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* by Charles H. Freeman and Wheeler W. Sidwell, two of the city's oldest musicians, in an article devoted to the life and activities of Franz Danz Sr. Mr. Danz, whose death occurred in Los Angeles, California, February 6, came to Minneapolis in 1878 and at once took an active part in musical affairs, being the founder of the well-known Danz band and orchestra. A picture of Mr. Sidwell accompanies the article.

A picture of the first locomotive to run into Minneapolis over the Minnesota Central Railroad, and a reproduction of the first time card issued by the road, appeared in the *Minneapolis Journal* of February 18, accompanying a sketch of Edwin A. Wright, the road's first engineer, whose death occurred in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 7. The Minnesota Central Railroad, the northern division of which, extending from Minneapolis to Faribault, was completed in October, 1865, is now a part of the Iowa and Minnesota division of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad.

The beginnings of the Minneapolis street railway system are described in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of April 8. Some interesting details in connection with the construction, management, and method of operation of the horse-car lines of the early seventies are furnished by Mr. Amos Caverly of Minneapolis, who took out the first car over the first stretch of track to be completed.

The April 26 issue of the *Slayton Gazette* contains a letter written by Mrs. A. B. Lester, a pioneer resident of Murray County, which gives an account of the first school and of the first religious meetings conducted in the county as well as some interesting facts about the early settlers.

The story of the extension of the city limits of Minneapolis in 1867 so that Dorilus Morrison would be eligible for the office of mayor is told by Frederick A. Penny in the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 4 under the title "Pioneer Recalls How City Obtained Its First Mayor."

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BANKING IN MINNESOTA[1]

Introduction

The development of banking in Minnesota is a record of economic evolution. Banking has invariably been the outgrowth of certain special needs of the industrial and commercial world. A place of deposit is required for the accumulation and safe-keeping of money and capital; exchange becomes a necessity for the wider extension of the business operations of mercantile and commercial institutions; and a demand for loans and discounts is created by increasing trade and economic development. In a new country, especially, growing commercial enterprises have certain wants which are satisfied only by banking institutions performing the functions of deposit, discount, note issue, and exchange. To understand the development of the banking institutions of Minnesota requires that the beginnings be traced from the earliest stages of economic life and from the first exchanges of economic goods.

History demonstrates that the first steps taken in the settlement of a new country are generally due to the discovery of some real or potential source of wealth, that is, some natural resource. The first people to venture into a new land are the explorers. Exploiters, soldiers, and, perhaps, missionaries follow; in the course of time, if conditions are favorable, permanent settlers begin to arrive, and industries and commerce develop. In the territory now comprising Minnesota, as in a large part of North America, the magnetic natural resource which drew the first white men was the fur-bearing animals.

[1] A thesis submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota in June, 1915, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts; read in part at the stated meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, December 11, 1916.

The fur trade introduced this portion of the country to the civilized world and provided the first step in the commercial development of the region. It is in the operations of the fur companies, then, that the beginnings of banking are to be found.

The French were the pioneers in developing the fur trade of the Northwest. From the time when they first gained a foothold along the lower waters of the St. Lawrence River, adventurous *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* made their way up this river and throughout the region of the Great Lakes, whence they returned with canoes laden with valuable peltries. It is known definitely that two of these traders came back to Montreal in August, 1656, after a two years' sojourn in a country some five hundred leagues to the west. These men, now identified by many historians as Medard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur de Radisson, were probably the first white men in Minnesota.[2] Their enthusiastic accounts, as well as the furs they succeeded in bringing back, aroused traders and explorers alike; and by the first years of the eighteenth century several trading posts were established along the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley.[3]

The French continued to control the fur trade in this region until 1760, when, by the fortunes of war, France lost her American colonies, Canada and her dependencies passing under the dominion of England. English merchants and trading firms at once superseded the French trading companies. The beginning of the American Revolution found the Montreal merchants firmly established in the Northwest. Their supremacy in this region, however, did not go unchallenged. Already traders from New York were making vigorous efforts to gain some share in the fur business—efforts which the war for independence for a time terminated, but which at its close

[2] Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations,* 42: 219, 296 n. 11; Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State,* 7–13.

[3] Neill, "The French Voyageurs to Minnesota" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1: 17–36 (1872 ed.), and "A Sketch of Joseph Renville" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1: 197.

were renewed; while in the North the Hudson's Bay Company was opposing all attempts to encroach on what it very properly considered its territory. The need of concerted action in order to exclude American traders, on the one hand, and to meet the opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the other hand, as well as a desire to eliminate competition, led to the formation of large trading companies. The Northwest Company, organized in 1783, by absorbing gradually smaller rival concerns, by the year 1804 gained exclusive control of the region beyond Lake Superior, including much of the territory nominally belonging to the United States which was still dominated by the English by virtue of their retention of the military posts along the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley. The Michillimackinac Company was organized in 1806 for the control of the trade in the upper Mississippi, south of the region controlled by the Northwest Company. This company met with little success. The operations of the government trading factories established by the United States at various points on the frontier and the growing business of the American Fur Company, organized in 1808 by John Jacob Astor, contributed to its failure. In 1810 the company was dissolved. Two of the trading firms forming the partnership immediately organized a new company, which in the following year joined with the American Fur Company in a new concern called the Southwest Company. These trading firms were also shareholders in the Northwest Company; and an agreement was entered into by which the latter company was to confine its trade to the Indians of the British dominions, and the Southwest Company, to those south of the boundary. The disorganization of the fur trade during the War of 1812 led to the dissolution of the Southwest Company. The passage by Congress in 1816 of a law prohibiting foreign traders from operating within the territories of the United States marked the withdrawal of the British trading companies from the Mississippi Valley.[4] The American Fur Company succeeded them

[4] United States, *Statutes at Large*, 3: 332.

in the control of the fur trade; and thereafter for many years, under various owners and titles, was commercially and politically the greatest single force in the development of the region of which Minnesota forms a part.[5]

In the transactions carried on by the fur-traders no metallic money was used, furs being exchanged by the Indians for guns, ammunition, blankets, calicoes, knives, tobacco, rum, wampum, and various other articles. One of the foremost explorers and students of this region, Henry R. Schoolcraft, wrote in 1834 that the "standard of value and computation in this trade, is an abiminikwa, or prime beaver, called *plus* by the French." Under this system of barter the astute traders were able to reap large profits.[6] In the early part of the nineteenth century the credit system began to develop. Indians were permitted to obtain various articles at the trading posts and were given credit according to their hunting and trapping ability; in payment therefor they were required to turn over their furs to the trader with whom they had an account.[7]

[5] *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), August 22, 29, 1850; *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* (St. Paul), August 26, 1850. For further details on the history of the fur trade, see Stevens, "The Organization of the British Fur Trade" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3:172–202; Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902).

[6] "A plus, tradition states, was given for as much vermilion as would cover the point of a case knife, and the same price was paid respectively for four charges of powder, or four charges of shot, or fifteen balls, or two branches of wampum." In 1784 furs were reduced to plus on the following basis: A bear, an otter, three martens, a lynx, and fifteen muskrats were worth, respectively, one plus; a buffalo robe was worth two plus, and a keg of mixed rum, of standard size, was worth thirty plus. As examples of the large profits enjoyed by the traders Schoolcraft cites one instance in which goods worth $2,000 were given in exchange for furs worth about $34,560, and another in which a fine gun worth about $51 was traded to a chief at one of the northern posts for 120 pounds of beaver worth about $480. *Narrative of an Expedition through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake in 1832*, 89, 90 (New York, 1834). See also Sibley in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3:171.

[7] Sibley in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1:465; Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 90; Smoky Day to Sibley, December 1, 1836, in the Sibley Papers.

Development along another line began in 1819, when a detachment of United States soldiers was sent up the Mississippi to establish a post at the mouth of the St. Peter's or Minnesota River. In the early summer of 1823 the first steamboat on the upper Mississippi, the little "Virginia," laden with supplies, picked its way up the river to Fort St. Anthony, later to be known as Fort Snelling. Thereafter each season steamboats came regularly to the fort.[8] Almost a decade passed after the advent of the soldiers, however, before settlers began to arrive in numbers.[9]

As a result of the treaties negotiated with the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1837, the United States government gained possession of the land between the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers south of a line drawn through the mouth of the Crow Wing; and, after the ratification of the treaties in the following year, this area was open to settlement.[10] Immigration was light. In the next few years small settlements were made at St. Paul, St. Peter's (Mendota), Pembina on the Red River of the North, and Marine and Dakota (Stillwater) on the St. Croix; along the latter river a few farms were also scattered.[11] When Minnesota Territory was organized in 1849, its population numbered 4,680, of which 840 were in St. Paul, 637 in Pembina, and 609 in Stillwater.[12]

[8] Neill, "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2:103, 107. Up to May 26, 1826, fifteen steamboats had arrived at Fort Snelling; by 1839 there were nine steamboats making regular trips to the post. Baker, "History of Transportation in Minnesota" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 9:16.

[9] Several families of refugees from the Selkirk settlement on the Red River of the North settled on the Fort Snelling reservation during the years from 1822 to 1836. A report of the commandant in 1837 gives the number of white inhabitants (exclusive of the soldiers) in the vicinity of the post as 157, of whom 75 were connected with the establishments of the fur companies. Williams, *History of the City of St. Paul,* 42, 60 (*M. H. C.* vol. 4); Adams, "Early Days at Red River Settlement and Fort Snelling" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 6:88.

[10] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* 2:491–494 (Washington, 1904).

[11] Le Duc, *Minnesota Year Book,* 1851, pp. 25–32.

[12] *Council Journal,* 1849, p. 183.

The business of the fur company was extended in the years following 1837 to include transactions other than those pertaining peculiarly to the fur trade. The Indians no longer considered it necessary to tender furs in payment of their credits, but paid the traders in money at the regular government payments. It is needless to say that the traders exercised great care that they should be at the place designated for the payments, bringing stocks of goods with them.[13] Thus, it came about that the fur company not only dealt in furs, but also sold goods on credit, to be paid for later in cash—a strictly retail business. With the arrival of more settlers this retail department was enlarged to supply their needs, and the company entered into competition with other business houses.[14]

A second line of departure was brought about by the occasional demands of the people for certain banking services. These demands were too irregular and too small in volume to justify the establishment of banks; and the people naturally turned to the American Fur Company, the strongest moneyed institution in the territory, for the satisfaction of these needs. The company, therefore, began to extend to explorers, missionaries, and others the privilege, previously accorded only to its own employees, of using it as a fiscal agent. Its activity in this field requires examination, for it is in these transactions that banking really finds its beginnings in Minnesota. The company made loans, cashed drafts on eastern cities and St. Louis, and sold exchange on its offices in New York and other places. It carried some of these loans on its books as credits (checking accounts), and honored drafts drawn against them whenever presented. It collected customers' notes falling due in other sections of the country, and it also acted as the agent of eastern people in the collection of notes from local inhabitants. Its local operations were greatly facilitated by the "outfits" (trading posts) established at various points through-

[13] H. L. Dousman to Sibley, December 22, 1837, November 2, 1838; to David Aitkin, September 26, 1838, in the Sibley Papers.

[14] *Minnesota Pioneer,* April 24, June 2, 1851.

out the Indian country; and its various foreign operations, by the main office in New York.[15]

While the company realized a profit on these banking operations, nevertheless it suffered some losses, which were inevitable at the time because of the lack of rapid communication and the uncertainties of the monetary situation. Protested

[15] Henry H. Sibley, afterwards the first governor of the state of Minnesota, arrived at St. Peter's (Mendota) in 1834 as resident partner and manager of the American Fur Company. His daybook and letter files, now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, contain considerable material for this particular phase of the subject. Illustrations of the fur company's banking operations are too numerous to be given here, but a few examples will suffice to corroborate these statements.

"I enclose you my own acceptance @ 3 dys for one hundred dollars, being the amt. you wish to borrow from me, and which I advance you with much pleasure. The draft will be cashed by any of the boats, or by R. H. Campbell Esq. in Galena." Sibley to H. L. Moss at Stillwater, August 11, 1849.

"I have advanced Doct. Norwood of the Geological Corps the sum of $390. which he expects to get from Mr. Carter at your place, in which case, I have requested him to turn the amt. over to you, taking your receipt therefor." Sibley to R. H. Campbell at Galena, September 27, 1849.

An entry in Sibley's daybook for August 23, 1838, shows that F. Ayer, a missionary among the Indians of the Snake River district, credited the Pokegama mission with a draft drawn on New York, at ten days, in favor of G. M. Tracy.

"We duly honored the 3 drafts you drew on us at Prairie du Chien last fall, say for $908.08 which we charged as directed on the face of the bills." Ramsay Crooks, president of the American Fur Company, to Aitkin, New York, April 7, 1840.

On July 9, 1838, the expedition of J. N. Nicollet was charged in Sibley's daybook with "paid order, Moyese Arcand $25.00," and on September 17 of the same year, a draft drawn to the account of this expedition upon P. Choteau and Company of St. Louis in favor of H. H. Sibley was charged to Western Outfit, indicating that a checking account was kept with the fur company by the expedition.

On October 24, 1838, Joseph Renville Sr. wrote to Sibley from Lac qui Parle, asking that the latter give Dr. Williamson, a missionary, one hundred dollars and charge the amount to his (Renville's) account; and on November 25, 1835, Dr. Williamson, writing to Sibley from the same place, said: "I send you above a draught on Mr Tracy of New York for 112 dollars & 14 cents. This with the 25 dollars which you told me you intended contributing to the Board . . . covers all the orders I have drawn on you togeth[er] with 15 dollars for corn which we have obtained

drafts drawn on people in the East were one source of loss; the notes of insolvent state banks in other parts of the country were another.[16] The fact that the company continued its operations in this field is sufficient proof that it realized a net profit from these transactions.

With the creation by Congress in 1849 of the territory of Minnesota, a change took place in the industrial and commer-

from Mr Brown and fifteen dollars fifty five cents which you will please credit to Mr Renvills account and charge to ours."

"I wish to draw some money from the savings bank, at Quebec, and I do not know of a surer way of getting it than by asking you." G. A. Belcourt, missionary at Pembina, to Sibley, June 14, 1849.

"Understanding that the maker of the enclosed note is in your country, I take the liberty of handing to you his (Louis Brunelle's) note dated Sault Ste Marie 11 Augt 1831, payable 1 July 1832. . . . Whatever you may collect have passed to the credit of the office in New York for % of St Marys Outfit." Crooks to Sibley, Mackinac, October 18, 1836.

"Mr. Brown starts in the morning by Land for your place. I have advanced him $85.90 & charged Sioux Outfit." Dousman to Sibley, Prairie du Chien, November 5, 1838.

"I enclose with this an acct. against Mooers for $25.75 which he will pay you—also Farribaults acct. which charge to him, & his note which can be given up to him." Dousman to Sibley, June 20, 1836.

"I have this day drawn on you in favour of Mr Charles Grant for the sum of one hundred and seventy two 17/100 dollars, which I will thank you to accept and charge to a/ct of my outfit." Kittson to Sibley, Pembina, August 30, 1848.

"We have credited Western Outfit 1841 for the Revd Dr Gavins draft on Lentilhon & Co paid 6 July 1842 $916.67 and Wm Leiths draft on Wm Smith." Crooks to Sibley, New York, July 7, 1842.

[16] "Order H L Dousman on Mr De Rham for $1000 was refused; and Mr Chouteau took it up on the 21 Jany 1837 for the honor of the *endorser*— So this $1000 will also go back to the Prairie & Mess Pratte Chouteau & Co be paid for the amount. . . . Be cautious whose draft you take. But few are good." Crooks to J. Rolette at Prairie du Chien, May 26, 1837. H. L. Dousman on November 6, 1838, wrote Sibley from Prairie du Chien that of $645.50 in bank bills sent him by the latter $71.50 were counterfeit, and the greater portion of the rest were Wisconsin bank notes then not current and not received anywhere. "Take no more of them—Illinois, Indiana, Missouri & *Detroit City* Banks are the only ones current & take none other—all Michigan notes are entirely rejected." B. W. Brisbois of the Western Outfit at Prairie du Chien wrote William Forbes at Mendota on February 26, 1842, "The Illinois Banks are going down fast. We have stopd taking it."

cial, as well as the political, life of the people. New fields of activity were opened; and, to meet the new and growing needs of industries and commerce, banking in Minnesota entered upon the second distinct period of its development. The American Fur Company had rendered, and continued to render, great service to the people of this region; but, as the incoming merchants and business men began to look to other institutions for assistance in financial transactions, the prestige formerly enjoyed by the company gradually waned.

The Beginnings of Private Banks, 1849–55

The organization of Minnesota as a territory called attention to possible opportunities. This region was still mainly Indian country with but a few small and scattered settlements in that part of the territory which had been ceded to the government. In 1849 St. Paul was a small village, "just emerging from a collection of Indian whiskey shops, and birch-roofed cabins of half-breed voyageurs."[17] Its advantageous location at the head of navigation on the Mississippi just below the confluence of that river with the Minnesota, and the fact that it was the capital of the territory, combined to make it the Mecca of the immigrants coming into the region and the gateway for all traffic in the Minnesota and upper Mississippi valleys.[18] It was natural, therefore, that St. Paul should become the business center in the early development of Minnesota.

The United States census of 1850 shows that the white population had increased to 6,077, distributed by counties as follows: Ramsey, 2,227; Kittson (and Roseau), 1,134;

[17] Neill, *History of Minnesota,* 494 (Minneapolis, 1882, 4th edition). Mr. Neill, according to the *Weekly Minnesotian* (St. Paul) of April 9, 1853, came to Minnesota in April, 1849, and for some years was prominent in religious work in St. Paul. He was a careful student of the history of Minnesota, and his writings are considered reliable.

[18] An efficient barometer of prosperity in those days is furnished by the number of steamboat arrivals, which for the years 1848 to 1852 were 47, 73, 104, 119, and 171, respectively. *Weekly Minnesotian,* April 9, 1853.

Washington, 1,056; Dakota, 584; Benton, 418; Wabasha, 243; Wahnahta, 160; Mahkahto, 158; and Itasca, 97.[19] Immigration increased rapidly after the negotiation and ratification of the Sioux treaties of 1851.[20] In the early summer of 1853 five steamboats engaged in the Minnesota River trade carried capacity cargoes and numerous passengers. Villages grew up in the valley of the Minnesota and farms appeared in all directions.[21] This growth was merely a forerunner of the unprecedented immigration of the four succeeding years.

The people migrating to Minnesota were hardy frontiersmen, with slender financial resources—typical of those who have always been in the vanguard of settlement. As a class they were far superior in morality, education, and intelligence to the pioneers of many of the older territories. A large part were farmers who came west with wagons and stock.[22] There were practically no established industries, and the quantity of ready money—insufficient even in the better settled and more industrially advanced communities—was far too meager for business purposes.[23] In order to supply the finances necessary for industrial and commercial advancement money was brought in from outside the state, in payment for which high rates of interest were exacted. Rates varying from two to five per cent a month were prevalent, even for loans based on good security. A large part of this money went, however, not into industries, but into real estate, in response to the popular cry of "Land! more land!"[24]

[19] *United States Census,* 1850, p. 993.

[20] *St. Anthony Express,* July 16, 1852. For the text of the Sioux treaties concluded at Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, see Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* 2: 588–593.

[21] *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), May 11, 1853.

[22] Sibley, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota" in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3: 244; *Minnesota Pioneer,* June 23, 1853; *St. Anthony Express,* June 21, July 12, 1851; *Minnesota Democrat,* August 4, 1852.

[23] The lumber and logging industries had come into prominence after the building of the first mill in 1838 on the St. Croix River.

[24] *St. Anthony Express,* March 13, 1852; *Minnesota Democrat,* November 17, 1852.

The scarcity of capital, the high rates of interest, the increasing population, and the growing industries and commerce provided rich opportunities for a bank of issue as a means of increasing the supply of money. But all attempts in this direction met with such strenuous opposition that no institution of this kind having legal or public sanction was established during the territorial period.[25] The hostile attitude of the people arose from the fact that many had had unpleasant experiences with "wildcat" banks and "cheap currency" in other states and had no desire to repeat such experiences in their new home.[26] Several attempts were made, however, to establish banks of issue, the first of which was, so far as has been discovered, the Bank of Saint Croix, in 1849.

In September of that year a stranger by the name of Isaac Young induced a Mr. Sawyer, then a resident of St. Paul, "to sign a large number of handsomely engraved pieces of paper; on which were engraved the words 'Bank of Saint Croix, Saint Paul, Minnesota,' or something of that purport." The signer understood that they "would be promptly redeemed when issued." These bank notes were quoted at the time "in the Eastern bank note lists *at one per cent. discount;* the quotation being doubtless furnished by some accomplice in the fraud, living in Wall street, N. Y. city." Young disappeared from St. Paul and when next heard of was in St. Louis buying goods with this money, which had been given value by favorable quotations in the current bank note lists. The extent to which these notes were placed in circulation in Minnesota is not known, but Sawyer stated that he had signed only a small amount, between five and seven hundred dollars. The public at large was notified that no such bank existed in Minnesota

[25] *Minnesota Pioneer,* July 14, 1853.

[26] The editor of the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* in the issue of January 12, 1850, wrote in this connection: "We are no especial sticklers for Banks of any kind, or in any community, and most certainly no apologists for irredeemable Bank issues. Our pockets have suffered considerably in by-gone days from this cause."

and that, if people ever heard of an institution of this character as existing in the territory, they should consider it "a fraudulent, unlicensed concern."[27]

That the intention of the promoters of this enterprise was to flood the territory south of Minnesota with these notes when navigation closed is not known, but that the situation appeared serious is indicated by the articles published in the papers of Galena and St. Louis, and also by the following apologetic notice in Presbury and Company's *Counterfeit Detector:*

BANK OF ST. CROIX.—We have stricken this Bank from our "Detector," with this explanation:

A few days previous to the issuing of our October number, Mr. Daniels, of this city, introduced to us a gentleman by the name of Young, who informed us that he, with some other capitalists, were about to establish a Bank at St. Paul, and showed us two notes—one of the denomination of "one dollar," the other for "two dollars". He also stated that but few had been signed, and that no more would be issued until the charter had been sanctioned by the authority of law. He left those two notes with us, and money sufficient to redeem *all* that was *issued.*

Upon this representation we mentioned the money in the Detector, giving holders of the notes information when they would be redeemed.

Since the mention of the paper above alluded to, we have been advised that it is improbable that the Legislature of the Territory would grant any such charter.[28]

This notoriety was sufficient not only to prevent the circulation of many notes of this bank, concerning which discussion soon ceased, but also to dampen the ardor of other "wildcatters." It was not until the year 1853 that the attempt to establish institutions of this type was renewed.[29]

[27] *Minnesota Pioneer,* November 15, December 12, 1849.

[28] Quoted in the *Minnesota Pioneer* of January 9, 1850, from the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis. Other articles on this subject from Galena and St. Louis papers appeared in the *Pioneer* of January 2 and 9, 1850.

[29] The *Minnesota Pioneer* of November 17, 1853, contained an article on business opportunities in St. Paul, in which it was asserted that there was "no bank" (i. e. bank of issue) in that city, although under the heading

In contrast to the attitude assumed towards banks of issue was that regarding offices of discount. As early as 1850 the question arose regarding the advisability of establishing such an office in order to alleviate the financial distress to which business was subject whenever government payments were delayed. These payments were largely Indian annuities and formed the main source of ready money for the traders, who made easy prey of the Indians.[30] To render the financial situation more acute, the money derived from the Indian payments could not be retained for local circulation but was drained from the territory in payment for provisions and for freight thereon, since, with the exception of lumber and cranberries, Minnesota as yet imported practically everything worn or consumed in the territory.[31]

With characteristic American optimism, however, capital alone was thought necessary to make Minnesota a great agricultural region and a "better . . . manufacturing country than any of the Eastern and Middle States." For supplying this capital a loan office was considered desirable inasmuch as it was "free from the objections to banking," since a bank relied upon its charter for its credit, whereas a loan office would "rely upon its *capital* to sustain its credit." Again in November, 1851, an editorial in one of the St. Paul papers discussed the need of a loan office. The article maintained

"Bankers and Exchange Brokers" three offices of discount and deposit were listed. The early territorial governors were opposed to banks of issue, and repeatedly urged upon the legislature the advisability of postponing the enactment of measures establishing such institutions. See especially the messages of Governor Ramsey and of Governor Gorman in *House Journal*, 1852, p. 31; 1854, p. 30.

[30] "Building, purchases of property, purchases of provisions, all business transactions, turn, now, upon the hinge of the United States Treasury; all contracts almost, and most expenditures, are made in anticipation of some payment, which is to be made, of public money." *Minnesota Pioneer,* November 7, 1850.

[31] *Minnesota Pioneer,* October 17, November 7, 1850. In the *Minnesota Democrat* of December 22, 1852, the statement is made that "over $200,000 of the Sioux money went below in drafts and bank notes, by the last mail."

that such an "office at St. Paul, from which to borrow, not paper, but money, might facilitate the business of lumbering or Indian payments by anticipating sales or payments, and thus equalizing the amount of currency more between periods of payment, and preventing extreme pressure and tension."[32] The response to this suggestion was not long in forthcoming. In January, 1852, Charles H. Oakes of the fur company advertised that he had money to loan; and, as the field was so large, other loan offices were opened the same year.[33]

In the meantime other events of great importance to the banking business of the territory had taken place. As early as May 1, 1851, Charles W. Borup, also of the fur company, began dealing in bills of exchange and drafts on all parts of the United States, with his office in the building of the Minnesota Outfit, St. Paul.[34] In June of the next year Messrs. Borup and Oakes formed a partnership. This establishment met with no opposition; on the contrary, those most bitterly opposed to banks of issue gave hearty support to the new institution.[35]

Borup and Oakes did not long enjoy a monopoly of the banking business in Minnesota. Before the end of 1853 Smith, Newell, and Company, William Brewster and Company, and C. H. Parker had established similar offices; and by November 1, 1854, five other banking houses were in operation in St. Paul.[36] In the same year the growth of population increased financial needs so rapidly in other communities that

[32] *Minnesota Pioneer,* November 21, 1850, November 20, 1851.

[33] *Weekly Minnesotian,* January 24, November 6, 1852; *Minnesota Pioneer,* July 8, October 18, 1852.

[34] *Minnesota Pioneer,* May 1, 1851.

[35] The *Minnesota Pioneer,* the organ of the antibanking element, in giving notice of this event on July 1, 1852, said, "That is what we want—men of capital, cash men and not paper banking institutions."

[36] *Minnesota Pioneer,* January 6, November 24, 1853. The *Minnesota Democrat* of November 1, 1854, listed the banking houses as follows: Borup and Oakes, C. H. Parker, A. Vance Brown, William Brewster, Mackubin and Edgerton, Truman M. Smith, Brown and Fletcher, Rice, Hollinshead, and Becker, and George K. Smith.

R. Martin, Tracy and Farnham, and the C. L. Chase Land Company in St. Anthony, and S. J. R. McMillan in Stillwater, opened banking houses.[37] Within the next three years similar institutions were established in other localities. All these establishments were private banks, having no fixed capital and under no regulation save that of commercial honor. In general, they transacted the same kind of business as that of Borup and Oakes—a commercial banking business—making loans and discounts, dealing in exchange, making collections, and later receiving deposits, on which the rate of interest, because of the competition among the banks, rose to seven and twelve per cent a year. The majority of these institutions also conducted a real estate business.[38]

Banking operations were conducted under difficulties. The isolation of the territory and the lack of currency placed the bankers at a decided disadvantage. The rate of exchange on eastern cities varied from one to five per cent, and, since home products were insufficient to satisfy the needs of the rapidly increasing population, none could be exported; consequently exchange had to be created by shipments of gold and currency.[39] The nearest railroads terminated on the east bank of the Mississippi at La Crosse and Prairie du Chien, so that shipments had to be made by steamboat in the summer and by stage in the winter.[40]

The quality of the currency furnished another problem for the bankers. For a short time after the organization of the territory the limited amount of currency consisted almost entirely of specie, but soon counterfeit and irredeemable bank notes made their appearance, thereby necessitating close scrutiny and the use of bank-note detectors. In this connection the

[37] *St. Anthony Express,* May 6, August 19, September 23, 1854; *Weekly Minnesotian,* August 19, 1854.

[38] *Minnesota Pioneer,* December 22, 1853; *Minnesota Democrat,* December 21, 1853, November 1, 1854.

[39] *Minnesota Democrat,* November 1, 1854.

[40] Isaac Atwater (ed.), *History of the City of Minneapolis,* 486 (New York, 1893).

bankers and newspapers rendered great service by publishing, from time to time, lists of counterfeit notes or those rendered worthless by the failure of the issuing banks. Cognizant of the splendid opportunities offered for the circulation of their notes, individuals and banks sent agents to Minnesota with large quantities of their small bills for "purposes of speculation and imposition." The merchants, and the public as well, suffered no inconsiderable losses from these spurious issues, and in the winter of 1853–54 the situation became so serious that the business men of St. Paul petitioned the territorial legislature for relief. They urged the passage of a measure forbidding "the circulation . . . of all bills of whatever kind, designed as currency, under the denomination of ten dollars, with heavy penalties for the violation of the law," which was then before the legislature, but which failed to pass.[41]

Among the "shinplasters" were found a few notes of a local "bank." It soon developed that "a Shinplaster financier by the name of Israel Smith" had left New York shortly before with a large amount of notes of the "Merchants and Mechanic's Bank, Iowa," en route to St. Paul or St. Anthony, where he intended to establish a bank.[42] Upon his arrival at the latter place he prevailed upon one of the citizens—reputable but poor—to sign notes of the Merchants' and Mechanics' Bank of St. Anthony. Attempts were then made in St. Paul to pass bills in denominations of from one dollar to ten dollars but without much success, only four or five hundred dollars passing into circulation. Smith then left for Galena, where he falsely reported, for the purpose of giving his notes value, that he had received the permission of Governor Gorman of Minnesota Territory to establish his St. Anthony bank. Not long

[41] *St. Anthony Express,* December 13, 1851, June 17, November 19, 1853; *Minnesota Democrat,* January 26, 1853, November 1, 1854; *Minnesota Pioneer,* February 22, March 1, 1855. For the text of the petition, see *Council Journal,* 1854, appendix, p. 177.

[42] The *Minnesota Democrat* of July 6, 1853, quotes the *Milwaukee Free Democrat* of June 29, 1853, and Thompson's *Bank Note Reporter.* The latter prefaced the statement with the words "Extra Caution."

afterwards, his efforts having proved futile, he left for New York "to make arrangements for the redemption of the bills." The prevailing sentiment stirred up by this episode is expressed in this sentence, "We want no wild-catting or buzzard-roosting here in Minnesota," and in the advice given, "Be careful in counting your money—touch not—handle not!"[43]

About the same time Richards, Clarke, and Company opened a banking house in St. Paul under the name of the Central American Bank. Their business consisted of dealing in exchange and making collections. In addition, they attempted to issue notes; and although, unlike the two former attempts at establishing banks of issue, they actually opened an office, their effort aroused resentment to a high pitch. The organ of the Democratic Party, the *Minnesota Pioneer,* published its views in opposition to wildcat money and advocated the election of sound money men to the next legislature. In addition, it was stated that "the currency paid by Government to the Territory, and disbursed to its citizens by the proper officers, is the *only* currency recognized by the constitution."[44] Two days after the publication of this editorial a large meeting of indignant and determined St. Paul business men organized to carry on the warfare against the Central American Bank and similar institutions. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, A recent attempt has been made to circulate as money an issue of a so-called Central American Bank, of this city, and

Whereas, Such an attempt is antagonistical to the best interests of this Territory, and particularly to the interests of the business men of this city. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we will oppose, under all circumstances, now and hereafter, this and all similar attempts to impose upon us an illegitimate and irresponsible paper currency,

[43] *Weekly Minnesotian,* July 2, 1853. No communication of any kind relative to the St. Anthony bank passed between Smith and Governor Gorman. *Minnesota Pioneer,* July 14, 1853.

[44] *Minnesota Pioneer,* July 21, 1853.

Resolved, That the course pursued by the city press, in denouncing these "wild-cat" issues, meets with our warm approbation.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the papers in this Territory.[45]

In the face of such opposition the bank could not long exist, and in January, 1854, it gave notice that it would redeem its outstanding notes until February 1 of that year. On February 8, 1854, its advertisement appeared for the last time in a territorial paper.[46]

A more successful attempt to establish a bank of issue was made by Borup and Oakes, who, in the latter part of January, 1854, announced that they would receive current bank notes on deposit, for which they would give "their certificates payable in like funds or in coin, or exchange on the east at current rates."[47] Action was immediately taken by the legislature, and a law, approved March 4, 1854, forbade the issue by unauthorized persons of "bills or promissory notes, or checks, certificates of deposit, or other evidences of debt, for the purpose of loaning them, or putting them in circulation as money, unless thereto especially authorised by law." The offense was made punishable by a fine of one hundred dollars, and any person aiding in the circulation of such evidences of debt was liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars.[48] This law was practically a dead letter from the day of its passage, and Borup and Oakes continued their note issue without interference.

A bill to incorporate the Bank of Minnesota was introduced in the same session. It provided that this bank should have a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, which might be increased to five hundred thousand; and that its notes should

[45] *Minnesota Democrat,* July 27, 1853.

[46] *Minnesota Pioneer,* January 5, 1854; *Minnesota Democrat,* February 8, 1854.

[47] *Minnesota Democrat,* January 19, 1854.

[48] *Session Laws,* 1854, p. 67. The act was repealed February 7, 1855. *Session Laws,* 1855, p. 167.

be secured by a deposit of securities of the United States or individual states, or of real estate mortgages, thus making it a free banking institution. Governor Gorman in his message had declared that "no law, creating a bank within this Territory, for circulating a paper currency, can receive my official sanction." The Democratic sentiment in the legislature, however, was sufficiently strong to prevent the passage of the bill, and it never came to the governor's hands.[49]

The currency in circulation continued to present a grave problem. In 1854 the paper issues in the territory amounted to millions of dollars. With a single exception the notes came from unknown banks in Maine, Georgia, Indiana, and other places distant from Minnesota.[50] The sole reliance of those who received them was on the genuineness of the engraving and on the reports of counterfeit detectors. In several instances the fact that a local banking house received or issued a certain foreign bank note gave the public confidence in that note, but the banker might at any moment refuse to accept the notes that he himself had introduced into circulation. Much loss was occasioned in the fall of this year by the notes of "broken banks" and by the fluctuation in note values arising from the rumors of bank failures circulated by speculators in bank notes.[51]

The Whig newspapers had long advocated the establishment of a state-regulated banking system similar to those in operation in Illinois and Wisconsin.[52] In these states notes issued by the banks were secured by the deposit of United States or state bonds, a system which was considered the best yet devised. The Democratic press, on the other hand, had

[49] *Council Journal,* 1854, pp. 69, 126, appendix, p. 7; *St. Anthony Express,* February 11, 1854.

[50] *Minnesota Democrat,* November 8, 1854. The exception was the notes of Borup and Oakes.

[51] *Minnesota Democrat,* November 8, 1854.

[52] *St. Anthony Express,* July 30, 1853; *Weekly Minnesotian,* July 23, 1853.

been unalterably opposed to any form of banks of issue.[53] The conditions existing in 1854, however, presented a problem to which there appeared to be but one solution, and the Democratic press united with the press of the opposite party in advocating the establishment of banks of issue under the strictest regulations possible with the hope that their note issues might drive from circulation the spurious issues then current and place the territorial circulating medium on a firm foundation.[54] At a meeting of the business men of St. Paul on November 29, 1854, held for the purpose of organizing a board of trade and discussing the currency problem, resolutions were adopted condemning the circulation of foreign paper money in the territory. When the legislature assembled, however, Governor Gorman in his message of January 18, 1855, again issued a warning against the establishment of note-issuing banks, and no action was taken.[55]

The Boom and Panic Period, 1855–58

The years from 1855 to 1858 form one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Minnesota, especially from a business point of view. The earlier years comprise the boom period, when optimism and prosperity reared an enormous speculative structure, which was brought crashing to the ground by the financial disasters of 1857, plunging the people into depths of adversity from which they were years in recovering.

The year 1855 developed but little of particular interest in banking. The first event in chronological order was the issue by Borup and Oakes of a new shinplaster, redeemable in gold at a discount of one per cent.[56] These notes circulated at first somewhat freely throughout the territory because of the integ-

[53] *Minnesota Democrat,* December 24, 1850, October 21, 1851; *Minnesota Pioneer,* November 20, 1851.

[54] *Minnesota Democrat,* November 8, 1854.

[55] *Weekly Minnesotian,* December 2, 1854; *Council Journal,* 1855, p. 39.

[56] *Minnesota Democrat,* March 7, 14, 1855.

rity and high standing of the issuing firm. As time went on, however, there gradually developed considerable opposition to this issue. Two factors were operative in causing this opposition: jealousy on the part of other bankers, who refused to accept the new notes, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, distrust on the part of the public, due to the difficulty of redemption in localities other than St. Paul, to the fear that possible temporary embarrassment might cause the notes to depreciate, and especially to the apprehension that less responsible firms should begin the issue of similar notes. For these reasons the legislature of 1856 again prohibited "the issue and circulation of unauthorized bills as currency" and provided that payments of debts with such notes should be void. Borup and Oakes thereupon ceased to issue notes and began the redemption of those outstanding.[57]

Immigration during 1855 surpassed that of any preceding year.[58] Southeastern Minnesota gained more of this incoming population than any other section of the territory, the gateway being Winona. The rush to Fillmore, Houston, Winona, Olmsted, and other counties was extraordinary. Villages sprang up as if by magic, hamlets became thriving villages and towns, and farms appeared in localities which no one dreamed would be settled for years to come.[59]

What was true of the southeastern section in 1855 was applicable to the entire territory the following year. Every

[57] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* January 31, 1856; *Minnesota Democrat,* March 7, 1855; *Session Laws,* 1856, p. 7. See also the report of the "committee on shin plasters" to the house of representatives, February 26, 1858. *House Journal,* 1857–58, p. 398.

[58] The *Minnesota Democrat* of November 1, 1854, estimated that forty-five thousand people were brought to St. Paul by boat during the preceding season. According to the *St. Anthony Express* of November 22, 1856, the steamboat arrivals in the years from 1851 to 1854 numbered, respectively, 119, 171, 200, 245. The figures for 1853 and 1854, as reported in the *Weekly Minnesotian* of November 15, 1856, are 235 and 310, respectively.

[59] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* May 22, 1856. The census of the territory taken in 1855 shows that Houston, Fillmore, Mower, Winona, Olmsted, Dodge, Steele, Rice, Goodhue, and Wabasha counties had a

portion, notwithstanding the spirited competition prevailing, appeared to be receiving a share of the inflow. The boats engaged on the Mississippi were unable to keep pace with the tremendous influx of trade and travel, and by May 10, 1856, huge piles of freight had accumulated and were daily increasing at Dubuque and Dunleith. In the first two months of navigation in 1856 (April and May), two hundred steamboats arrived at the wharf in St. Paul, a record estimated as nearly equal to that of the entire preceding year and exceeding that of any previous year. Immigration literally poured into the Minnesota Valley. Sometimes two boats a day left St. Paul, but even these, loaded to their utmost capacity with passengers and freight, were unable to handle the rush. On the upper Mississippi between St. Anthony and Sauk Rapids two steamboats were scarcely equal to the demands of the trade. In the St. Croix Valley the unusual success which had attended the beginning of the lumbering industry had its effect on every branch of trade, and led to a rapid increase in wealth and population of the villages in that region.[60]

It was confidently expected that there would be an even larger volume of immigration and commerce in 1857; therefore steamboat men made great preparations for accommodating an enormous transportation business. The basis of their belief was the record of the preceding year and a calculation of favorable results from the land grant made by Congress for the building of railroads. In the spring the boats were crowded with passengers; settlers with prairie schooners and cattle were constantly passing through towns in the eastern part of the territory, bound for the unsettled western por-

population of 17,665 out of a total for the territory of 53,600. *Weekly Minnesotian,* August 11, 1855. The population of Winona increased from practically nothing in 1852 to 800 in 1855 and 3,000 in 1856. *Weekly Winona Express,* August 28, 1855; *Winona Republican,* December 25, 1855, December 30, 1856, February 10, 1857.

[60] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* May 22, 1856; *St. Anthony Express,* May 10, 1856; *Weekly Minnesotian,* May 17, 1856.

tions.[61] The warnings of the eastern papers regarding western lands, however, and the unsettled monetary conditions of that year, culminating in the panic, undoubtedly had a dampening effect on many eastern people who would have come west had conditions been as propitious as in 1856.[62]

As a natural sequence of this extraordinary increase in population came an increase in the volume of business. Encouraged by the rapid rate at which the population was growing and the increasing area over which trade was being established, the merchants considered it advisable to enlarge their enterprises to the limit of their capital and credit. To do so they were forced to borrow at the prevailing rates of interest, which, as subsequent experience showed, were justified by neither actual nor prospective profits.[63] The most considerable and important class of borrowers, however, were the operators in real estate, who had been attracted by the cheapness of the land and by the strong tide of immigration, and had come westward in large numbers to reap a harvest, especially in the boom years of 1855 and 1856. Their transactions caused the price of real estate to advance rapidly; and, in consequence, all classes of people became obsessed by the mania for speculation in land. In 1856 this speculation assumed alarming proportions, and prices reached heights out of all proportion to real value.[64]

[61] *St. Paul Advertiser,* March 21, 1857; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* April 2, May 28, 1857; *Winona Republican,* April 21, 1857. An article copied from the *Cannon Falls Gazette* by the *Pioneer and Democrat* of June 25, 1857, describes the volume of travel through Cannon Falls.

[62] *St. Paul Advertiser,* June 13, 1857; *Weekly Minnesotian,* June 27, 1857.

[63] *St. Paul Advertiser,* June 27, 1857, and an article in the issue of June 20, 1857, quoted from the *New York Independent* of June 11.

[64] The *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* of December 18, 1856, announced that 140 acres at the mouth of Bassett's Creek, Minneapolis, preëmpted the year before for $1.25 an acre, had just been sold for $35,000, or $250 an acre. The same paper, in the issue of July 16, 1857, quoted a notice from the *Hastings Journal* to the effect that 40 acres adjoining Hastings, which had sold in September, 1856, for $14,500, had recently been resold for $32,480. These were typical transactions.

A spirit of optimism pervaded the territory. One editor in the summer of 1856, after mentioning that it was a common thing to buy lots in St. Anthony and Minneapolis one day and sell them the next at an advance of from fifty to seventy-five per cent, declared that it was impossible for any land at the prices then prevailing to deteriorate in value, and that a price level had not yet been reached in St. Anthony, Minneapolis, or the surrounding country. Apparently everything was at the high tide of prosperity; most of the people were living beyond their means, in an atmosphere of feverish excitement, basing all their hopes on the outcome of the most fantastic projects, a condition of affairs certain to prove disastrous to all concerned.[65]

Coincident with the expansion in other lines of activity there was an expansion in the banking field. Numerous banking houses appeared in the various towns of the territory, six being established in Winona alone by the end of 1856.[66] In the early part of 1857 there were ten such institutions in St. Paul. Taking as a basis for calculation the advertisements of banks in the various territorial papers, a very conservative estimate would place the minimum number in existence in the summer of 1857 at not less than thirty. At the commencement of 1857 the bankers of St. Paul perfected an organization known as the "board of brokers." Its announced intention was "to obtain the most valuable information as to the condition of such banks as are circulating their paper in our community, and also to receive the earliest possible news, by telegraph or otherwise, of anticipated or actual failure of such banks." In this respect the board rendered valuable service to the public, but some of its activities were not quite so commendable.[67]

[65] *St. Anthony Express,* July 5, 1856; *Weekly Minnesotian,* October 3, 1857.

[66] *Winona Republican,* February 10, 1857; *St. Paul Advertiser,* August 22, 1857.

[67] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* January 15, 1857. See below, pages 139, 153, 155.

Currency troubles had gradually convinced a majority of the people that some kind of a regulated banking system was a necessity. In January, 1857, the opinion was expressed that a general banking system would, in all probability, soon be established. In the spring of the year the "Address of the Territorial Central Committee to the Democratic Voters of Minnesota" concerning the important measures to be considered at the coming constitutional convention advised that the fundamental law should contain no provisions for banking institutions unless they were so guarded and restricted as to secure the community against irresponsible and excessive note issues.[68] The constitutional convention was in session from July 13 to August 29, 1857, and after much discussion adopted the general provisions under which the state banking system later developed. These provisions will be discussed in connection with the consideration of the banking laws of 1858.

Money in the years preceding 1857 had been fairly steady. To be sure there were changes in rates under varying conditions of supply and demand, but there were no sudden or violent fluctuations. In 1856 the interest rate on call loans was two and one-half per cent a month; on loans for from six to twelve months, secured by real estate, three per cent a month; and on loans for from three to six months, secured by good paper, from three and one-half to four per cent a month. These rates prevailed into 1857. For a short time in the spring, however, rates rose to five, ten, and, in one case, to fifteen per cent a month, the highest points reached in Minnesota for money loaned for speculative purposes. With the beginning of immigration and the importation of money, the rate dropped to two and one-half and three per cent a month, near which level it remained until September.[69]

As the year advanced, the territorial financiers began to feel the effects of the uncertain conditions in the East. Stringency

[68] *St. Paul Advertiser,* January 24, 1857; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* May 21, 1857.

[69] *St. Anthony Express,* August 23, 1856; *St. Paul Advertiser,* April 4, 11, 1857.

in the money market became the rule, and business was dull. New farms had been taken up and industries established on borrowed capital attracted by high interest rates; but the uncertain monetary conditions in the East, arising from excessive speculation, had stopped the supply. The local bankers, having invested heavily in real estate and real estate mortgages themselves and having but little money for business loans, were compelled to loan almost entirely on short time. In August the banking business was light, money was close, and maturing paper was not paid with the usual promptness. As a general rule banks did not discount except to their regular customers, whom they charged the prevailing rate of three per cent. Eastern exchange was scarce and was worth one-half per cent premium, while transactions in real estate were "growing small by degrees and beautifully less."[70] It was the lull before the storm.

On August 28, 1857, a telegram reached St. Paul announcing the suspension of several eastern banking institutions, including the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, which had closed its doors on the twenty-fourth. Within a week the effects of these failures were felt in the territory. Real estate transactions ceased; payments on paper were slow, and past due paper began to accumulate; eastern exchange was scarce but light, and bankers were willing to buy it at a premium of three-fourths per cent, selling at one and one-fourth per cent; gold commanded a premium of one and one-half per cent; confidence was shaken, and there was much anxiety as to the future. As the effects of the panic began to be felt more powerfully, the outlook steadily darkened. Gold disappeared from circulation, money of any kind became scarce, and bankers refused to discount; gold in the middle of September sold for two and three per cent premium, with but little for sale; specie was hoarded by every one who could obtain it.[71]

[70] *St. Paul Advertiser,* July 4, 11, 25, August 15, 22, 1857.
[71] *St. Paul Advertiser,* August 29, September 5, 19, 26, 1857.

In the early part of October the banks of St. Paul suspended specie payment, and the problem arose as to how the merchants were to pay their eastern creditors, for the latter refused western currency except at almost prohibitive discounts, and it was impossible to get eastern exchange at even five per cent. Stores and warehouses were full of goods, but there were no buyers. Many merchants notified their eastern creditors that there was no specie in Minnesota, but that they could and were willing to pay their debts with western currency, which was on deposit in St. Paul subject to creditors' drafts.[72] At a meeting, held October 5, the merchants resolved to ask eastern creditors to pay one half of the exchange rates; to ask depositors to leave their money in St. Paul banks until needed, as they were safer than distant banks; and, as it was impossible to collect notes receivable, to make sales for cash only in order to be able to meet accruing liabilities.[73]

In the meantime, on October 2, the firm of Marshall and Company of St. Paul closed its doors on account of the failure of correspondents in St. Louis. Considerable anxiety developed lest this failure should directly affect other banking houses in the city, but the fear proved groundless. The following day, however, Truman M. Smith was compelled to close his doors. The greatest shock came on October 21, 1857, when Borup and Oakes, suffering from severe losses through the failure of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company and other eastern correspondents, was compelled to suspend.[74]

[72] *St. Paul Advertiser,* October 3, 1857. According to the issue of October 24 the St. Paul merchants alone owed eastern and foreign creditors $1,500,000, and local debts amounted to $1,000,000, secured by real estate mortgages drawing from two to five per cent a month. These amounts included only transactions through the banks and not those of private persons.

[73] Eastern exchange was quoted at five and ten per cent, and currency was frequently discounted at ten per cent in the East. *St. Paul Advertiser,* October 10, November 21, 1857.

[74] A published statement in the *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* of October 8, 1857, showed that Marshall and Company had as assets, bills receivable $168,666.61, cash and cash items $24,569.44, and real estate

The prospects for the coming winter filled people with foreboding. Trade was at a standstill. Immigration had ceased, and in its place an exodus began. House rents dropped, and over two hundred houses were left vacant in St. Paul. Large numbers of people were out of employment, but had no money with which to leave the territory.[75] To meet these conditions a meeting was held in St. Paul, October 24, at which suggestions were made that a stay law be enacted to be in force two years, and also that banks of issue be established with limited charters, their notes to be based on real estate and such other securities as could be obtained in the market.[76] People apparently found it impossible to grasp the fact that real estate was practically worthless. According to John H. Stevens, a pioneer of Minneapolis, corner lots in that town, which in May, 1857, sold for three thousand dollars, could not be sold in October for three hundred dollars. In the latter part of 1857 the newspapers contained numerous notices of sheriff sales, mortgage sales, and private advertisements of land sales; yet so strong was the confidence of the people in land values that they were willing to base their note issue on real estate securities.[77]

Lieutenant Governor Chase and, later, Governor Medary declined to consider the petition framed at the St. Paul meeting and refused to call an extra session of the legislature to institute a general banking system; therefore other means of

$250,000; as liabilities, $83,277.48 due depositors and $60,000 in bills payable in eastern exchange. Truman Smith held real estate to the value of $100,000, real estate mortgages for $300,000, and bills receivable for $80,000, with a few minor items, to offset $19,026.40 in deposits and $147,000 in bills payable. According to a statement in the *Weekly Minnesotian* of October 24, 1857, since September 10 Borup and Oakes had paid out $185,000, and nothing had come in.

[75] *Weekly Minnesotian,* October 24, 1857; *St. Paul Advertiser,* October 24, 1857, April 3, 1858. The census of 1857 showed a population of 153,332. *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* May 27, 1858.

[76] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* October 29, 1857. The legislature was to meet in regular session in the winter.

[77] Stevens, *Personal Recollections of Minnesota and Its People,* 301, 302 (Minneapolis, 1890); *Weekly Minnesotian,* November 28, 1857; *St. Paul Advertiser,* November 28, 1857.

alleviating the financial troubles had to be devised.[78] The city council of St. Paul authorized the issue of city order bills. This example was soon followed by Ramsey County, which, on November 3, authorized an issue of county scrip. Both issues were of denominations not less than one dollar or more than twenty dollars. Other counties followed Ramsey in this attempt to supply a circulating medium.[79]

The board of brokers, as such, refused to receive city scrip, but three of its members, J. Jay Knox and Company, Caldwell and Company, and Bostwick, Pease, and Company, advertised their willingness to take it on deposit. The banks, however, provided a currency of their own by endorsing the notes of defunct eastern banks, agreeing to take them on deposit and to make them pass current. Operating on this plan, Mackubin and Edgerton, W. L. Banning, J. Jay Knox and Company, Caldwell and Company, and Ennis and Plant of Hastings obtained a quantity of the inoperative Central Bank of Gray (Maine) notes, and placed them in circulation with the endorsement of the local issuing bank across the face. Bostwick, Pease, and Company in the same way issued the notes of the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank of Memphis, said to have failed, August 16, 1854. The prevailing rate of interest on loans was three per cent a month and five per cent a month after maturity.[80] The fact that the bankers were willing to place these notes in circulation, receive them at par, and loan them out at the above-mentioned rate, but refused to accept city scrip save at a discount, is sufficient evidence to prove that they were willing to capitalize the misfortunes of the public for their own selfish ends. For all practical purposes a piece of plain paper with the same endorsement would have answered as well inasmuch as the purpose was to provide a currency for

[78] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* October 29, 1857.

[79] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* October 29, 1857; *St. Paul Advertiser,* November 7, 28, 1857.

[80] *St. Paul Advertiser,* November 7, 21, 1857; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* November 12, 1857; *Weekly Minnesotian,* January 23, 1858.

local use, and the people were not in a position to object to the type or method of issue.[81] The Minneapolis merchants, in the fall, issued scrip for ten, fifteen, twenty-five, and fifty cents in order to meet the demand for small change. These notes had a large circulation, although there was a heated discussion over their issue.[82]

Many merchants failed in the fall and winter, and those who survived were hard pressed at all times.[83] With the convening of the legislature discussion turned to the subject of a new banking law which was now imperatively demanded by the people as a panacea for the financial ills from which they were suffering.

The Constitutional Convention and the Banking Acts of 1858

The constitutional convention was held in the summer of 1857. Of the provisions incorporated into the fundamental laws of the proposed state, few, if any, received more careful consideration than those relating to the subject of banking. There were two conventions in session at the same time, each claiming to be the legally constituted body. Since the constitutional provisions adopted were those promulgated by the Democrats, a discussion of the Republican convention will not be necessary.

Many of the men who assisted in framing the banking provisions stated repeatedly that they themselves were not in favor of establishing a banking system; but, since the people demanded one, it was their duty to provide the best one possible. Impelled by this spirit, the convention formulated the con-

[81] *Weekly Minnesotian,* October 24, 1857; *St. Paul Advertiser,* November 21, 1857.

[82] Hudson (ed.), *A Half Century of Minneapolis,* 236 (Minneapolis, 1908).

[83] *St. Paul Advertiser,* April 3, 1858. A St. Paul merchant summed up one week's business as "$5 in City Scrip, and $5 worth of credit." *Weekly Minnesotian,* December 19, 1857.

stitutional basis for the state banking system.[84] The provisions finally adopted are, briefly, as follows:[85]

The legislature was denied the "power to pass any law sanctioning in any manner, directly, or indirectly, the suspension of specie payments by any person, association or corporation issuing bank notes of any description." It was empowered to pass by a two-thirds vote a general banking law. Certain restrictions were enumerated which were required to be incorporated in such a law. These requirements furnish further illustration of the great stress laid at that time upon the function of note issues. The registration of all bills issued and the furnishing of "ample security in United States stock or State stocks for the redemption of the same in specie" were required. If any of the deposited stocks should depreciate ten per cent or more on the dollar, the banks depositing them were to be obliged to make up the depreciation by the deposit of additional stocks. The stockholders of all corporations or associations issuing bank notes were made subject to double liability for all debts of that corporation or association, such liability to continue for one year after the transfer or sale of the stock by its holders. The bill-holders were made preferred creditors of any insolvent bank. The notes and property of every bank were to be taxed. Finally, the names of all the stockholders in such a corporation, the amount of capital stock held by each, the time of transfer, and the person to whom transferred were to be recorded.

These provisions were agreed upon only after the rejection of many proposed amendments, which are of interest in that they show the ideas prevailing with regard to banking. An

[84] Minnesota Constitutional Convention (Democratic), *Debates and Proceedings,* 401, 406, 407, 411, 412, 413 (St. Paul, Goodrich, pr., 1857). In his inaugural address, delivered June 3, 1858, Governor Sibley referred to the state banking system in these words: "The Constitution of Minnesota has provided for a judicious banking system, which will protect the citizens effectually, against loss from the depreciation of bank notes." *House Journal,* 1857–58, p. 606.

[85] Constitution of Minnesota, article 9, section 13.

amendment was offered which would have rendered the note-issuing power of a bank of no value whatever by declaring that no debts should be considered liquidated by the payment of the paper money of any banking corporation. Another amendment, designed to protect the public from fraud, which was adopted but later stricken out, provided that the stockholders in every corporation issuing bank notes should be held liable individually for all the debts of such corporation. The convention refused to make depositors preferred creditors over note-holders, and, after much discussion, it also refused to make the state liable for the redemption of all notes of the banks, on the ground that note-holders would be sufficiently protected by the deposit of United States and state bonds. Other amendments, which were rejected, endeavored to make the deposit of stocks and specie the basis of note issue, and to substitute real estate in place of the United States and state stocks.[86]

Fear lest a split in the Democratic Party, such as had taken place in Ohio and Indiana, would occur if the question of banks were submitted to the people for decision, led the convention to provide that the legislature might pass a general banking law by a two-thirds vote. Accordingly, on the convening of the legislature, December 2, 1857, numerous bills providing for a banking system were introduced and provoked considerable discussion. Some opposition was apparent, but it was directed against all paper money, which was described as the "bane of our country" and the direct cause of the present troubles. The measure which was finally passed on March 17, 1858, was a combination of the various propositions and was modeled on the Wisconsin and Illinois systems. It was described as a little more stringent than some of the bankers

[86] For the record of the action of the convention regarding the proposed amendments, see Minnesota Constitutional Convention (Democratic), *Debates and Proceedings,* 385, 397–417, 419–421. Governor Medary in his message of December 11, 1857, recommended that depositors as well as note-holders be given legislative protection. *Senate Journal,* 1857–58, p. 37.

desired, and possibly a little less liberal than was necessary for the entire security of note-holders.[87]

The provision exciting the most interest, aside from those concerning note issue, was undoubtedly that fixing the maximum rate of interest on loans. The opinion of the lending class had long been that no usury law should be enacted inasmuch as such a law would drive capital from Minnesota to other places where it could be more profitably invested. It was predicted that if a usury law were passed and enforced, it would produce universal bankruptcy within two months. The rate of interest on loans by bankers was, nevertheless, fixed by the new law at not more than twelve per cent a year. The suggestion was immediately made that men of capital would prefer private banking with unregulated rates of interest to the new system. What results would have followed it is impossible to determine, since the law was not put in practical operation. The act of Congress admitting Minnesota to the Union was approved May 11, 1858. The legislature, which had adjourned on March 25, reassembled on June 2, and, influenced by the warning of Governor Sibley in his inaugural message, on July 21 replaced the measure of March 20 with another act more carefully drawn. This act as amended at the same session became the basis for all later banking legislation of the state.[88]

The new act placed the supervision of banking under the state auditor. Elaborate provisions were made for the incorporation of banks of issue and for defining the rights and powers of stockholders and note-holders. All persons desiring to incorporate under the act were required to select a town of not less than two hundred inhabitants,[89] and to have an aggre-

[87] *St. Paul Advertiser,* January 16, March 6, 1858; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* January 14, 21, 1858; *Senate Journal,* 1857–58, p. 323. For the text of the act of March 20, see *General Laws,* 1858, pp. 301–310.

[88] *Winona Republican,* December 30, 1857, April 7, 1858; *St. Paul Advertiser,* August 22, 1857; *House Journal,* 1857–58, pp. 599, 600, 606, 880; *General Laws,* 1858, pp. 68–81; Folwell, *Minnesota,* 160, 161.

[89] The act of March 20 placed the minimum at three hundred; the proposals in the discussion of the act of July 26 ranged from one hundred

gate capital of not less than twenty-five thousand dollars. The incorporators were required to certify as to the name of the bank, the names of the stockholders, and the dates of commencing and terminating business. The maximum rate of interest which such banks could receive or ask on loans or on notes and bills discounted was fixed at fifteen per cent a year, subject, however, to any general law fixing rates of interest that the legislature might thereafter enact.

Upon the application of persons incorporating under the act the auditor was authorized to furnish blank notes engraved and printed from plates, dies, and materials supplied by himself, or from plates, dies, and materials furnished by the incorporators but in his possession.[90] All expenses in preparing the notes were to be borne by the bankers to whom the notes were issued. The denominations of the notes were to range from one to five hundred dollars.[91] Each note was to be countersigned by the auditor and numbered and registered by him or his appointed agent.

The notes were to be secured by a deposit with the auditor of public stocks of the United States or of Minnesota, or of any other state to an amount equal to that of the notes issued. It was further required that the stocks should have sold in New York at not less than par in the six months immediately preceding the date of deposit and should be equal to stock producing six per cent a year. Should such stock depreciate,

to one thousand inhabitants. Limitation as to the locality was made to protect note-holders against a pernicious practice, carried on by bankers in other states, of locating banks of issue in some inaccessible place. The banks would then redeem their notes at convenient places at a discount just below the expense of going to the bank and redeeming them there.

[90] The public soon realized that this system would lead to an endless variety of notes, and therefore greatly facilitate counterfeiting. *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* July 29, 1858. Before the bill became a law, this provision was repealed, and a uniform set of plates was adopted. *General Laws,* 1858, p. 81.

[91] No notes were to be issued for denominations between five and ten, ten and twenty, twenty and twenty-five, twenty-five and fifty, and fifty and one hundred dollars.

the owner was required to make up the deficit, at the call of the auditor, either by additional stock or by the surrender of notes. In addition to the original deposit stockholders were required either to give bonds to the auditor to an amount equal to one fourth of the note issue or to deposit in lieu thereof ten per cent additional stock.[92]

Notes were to be redeemed at the bank only, and were made payable on demand and without interest. If a bank failed to redeem its notes upon presentation, a due protest by a notary, together with the numbers, denominations, and amount of the bills presented, was to be sent to the auditor, who thereupon was to give the bank a written notice that such notes were to be redeemed. This notice was to be published for thirty days in a newspaper of the county in which the bank was located, in a paper at the state capital, and in another in New York. After forty days had expired, the auditor was authorized to sell the securities at auction at the Merchants' Exchange in New York and to redeem all outstanding notes pro rata.

Bankers were authorized to return notes to the auditor in sums of not less than one thousand dollars and to receive in return a corresponding amount of securities deposited with him. If the entire circulation of any bank was to be retired, the officers were required to give notice for two years thereafter, in the newspaper of the county and a paper at the capital, that notes would be redeemed. All notes were to be canceled by the auditor in the presence of the governor and an official of the bank, and a record kept of such cancellation. Bank notes were made receivable in payment of all debts due the issuing bank. Counterfeiting of notes was punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, or imprisonment of not less than three months or more than twelve months, or by both fine and imprisonment.

Supervision was provided by requiring the presidents and cashiers of the banks to make out a report containing the

[92] This provision really amounted to an issue of notes equal to ninety per cent of the par value of the stocks deposited.

names of the shareholders, the amount of stock held by each, the time of transfer, and to whom transferred, and to file the report in the office of the county register of deeds and in the office of the auditor on the first Monday in January and July. The bank officers were also required to make out a quarterly report, under oath, of the condition of the bank, using a prescribed form. The report was to be sent to the auditor and published in a newspaper in the place where the bank was located and also in a paper in the capital of the state. A fine of one hundred dollars was the penalty for late reports, and a punishment of not less than one year or more than ten years at hard labor was prescribed for any one convicted of making false reports.

All banks organized under this act were given the right to discount bills, notes, and "other evidences of debt," to receive deposits, to buy and sell gold and silver bullion, foreign coin, and foreign and inland bills of exchange, to loan money on real and personal securities, and to exercise "such incidental powers as may be necessary to carry on such business." Such a bank could hold, buy, or sell real estate if the necessities of its transactions so required, or if such real estate came into its possession as security for loans or money due it, or if conveyed to it in satisfaction of debts, or if acquired by sale on an execution in its favor.

Even a casual reading of the act will disclose the emphasis placed upon safeguarding and regulating note issue. Twenty-seven of the forty-five sections are concerned with notes or the securities deposited for the notes. Actual experience had bred in the people a fear of irresponsible note issue; under the new system, therefore, they set up every known safeguard for their protection. The act was lacking in any requirement for a reserve to be held against deposits and in regulations concerning limitations upon loans and discounts. No mention was made of the length of time charters should run, their life apparently being perpetual. Although the minimum capitalization was fixed at twenty-five thousand dollars, no provision

was made for ascertaining whether or not that amount was actually paid in, so that for most of the banks this requirement was merely nominal, there being in fact but little real capital.

The clause exciting the most comment was that fixing a maximum rate of interest. Disapproval was expressed by some on the ground that such regulation was a "restriction upon the free competition of capital." Even those in favor of placing a limit on interest rates were of the opinion that this section should either be repealed or broadened to include every one; otherwise bankers might have private brokerage houses, collecting high rates of interest, "connected with, though outside of their institutions," to which funds available for loans could be transferred. An effort to remedy the situation was made. A general usury act fixing a maximum rate of fifteen per cent a year was passed by the legislature on August 9, 1858; it was vetoed by the governor, however, because of the fact that the enrolled bill presented for signature was not the one passed by the two houses.[93]

On August 14, 1858, an amendment in regard to the security required for note issue was passed, which caused considerable change in the meaning and significance of these provisions.[94] With the idea of providing a market for the state railroad bonds, banks were to be permitted to deposit stocks issued by the United States or by the state of Minnesota at their current value, the provision in regard to securities of other states remaining as in the original act. This change sealed the fate of the early state banks in Minnesota.

The currency situation in 1858 presented as great a problem as that of the preceding fall, with conditions more acute in St. Paul and St. Anthony than in other places. "Shinplasters of Michigan, the wild cats of Georgia and Pennsylvania, the wildest of all red dogs from Nebraska and Indiana," and worthless notes from North Carolina, Kentucky, Maryland,

[93] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* August 5, 1858; *Weekly Minnesotian,* July 31, 1858; *House Journal,* 1857–58, pp. 1051, 1103.

[94] *General Laws,* 1858, p. 80.

and Virginia were passing from hand to hand. Practically every state in the Union contributed to the supply of trash in circulation in Minnesota, making it, as the *Chicago Tribune* said, the "Paradise of the feline tribe." The situation was further complicated by the city and county note issues. With the object of affording immediate relief the legislature of 1857–58 very early in the session authorized the issuance of state warrants bearing twelve per cent interest. This paper was taken freely at par by the merchants, mechanics, and laboring men of St. Paul and St. Anthony; and substantial alleviation was, for a time, afforded all classes. Business began to revive, merchants sold goods readily, and laborers received prompt compensation. The improvement was only temporary, however. The bankers from the first refused to receive the state warrants except at a discount; at times they even refused to take them at any price. According to their own statements they were obliged to take this course because the scrip could not be used to liquidate the eastern indebtedness of merchants and business men. A leading St. Paul paper did not hesitate, however, to charge the board of brokers with attempting to depreciate the value of the warrants in order that through their agents they might purchase them "on the street at a large reduction," knowing that in a short time the state would be in a position through the sale of bonds to redeem the scrip in coin at its face value; furthermore, it was shown, this policy was pursued in face of the fact that in Washington, for example, the scrip was selling at par and was regarded as a good investment. In April bankers were buying state scrip for seventy and eighty per cent of its face value; in July it rose to ninety and ninety-five; at the same time city scrip sold at sixty-five per cent, and county at sixty-two and a half per cent.[95]

[95] *Winona Republican,* January 27, February 24, 1858; *Weekly Minnesotian,* February 20, June 5, 1858; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* April 8, 22, May 6, July 15, 1858; *General Laws,* 1858, pp. 16–18.

Business was dull; there was little demand for money, and its use was confined to safe and legitimate purposes, chiefly to the payment of debts. As the season advanced, it became apparent that it was best to prepare for a continuance of hard times, until another spring at least.[96] The anticipated increase in population did not materialize, for the course of immigration had changed and was flowing into the territories of Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska. Population in Minnesota had grown too rapidly for the opportunities offered; thousands had been compelled to leave the territory in the fall of 1857; and people were consequently cautious about coming to a place which had fallen so rapidly from a height of great apparent prosperity to the depths of hardship.[97] Hope as to the future was revived to a considerable extent by the passage of a bill providing for a five million dollar loan to the railway companies to be used in railroad construction in Minnesota.[98] For years the people of the territory had been awaiting the coming of a railroad. Numerous companies had been chartered, but not a mile of road had been built. The loan, which was bitterly opposed, later proved futile for the carrying-out of the project.[99]

Such was the financial situation in 1858 which the new banking law was expected to relieve. But no banking system in force in any state at that time could have eradicated the deep-seated, basic evils with which the commercial world of Minnesota was beset.

The Period of Free Banking, 1858–63

The years of free banking, or of the state system, were important ones for Minnesota. Struggling desperately to overcome the effects of the panic of 1857 and to gain that

[96] *Winona Times,* February 6, 1858; *St. Paul Advertiser,* June 5, 1858.

[97] *St. Paul Advertiser,* April 3, 1858. Despite adverse conditions considerable immigration had flowed into southern Minnesota.

[98] *General Laws,* 1858, pp. 9–13; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* April 22, 1858.

[99] *Weekly Minnesotian,* April 3, 10, 17, 24, 1858.

prosperity which a few years before had appeared to be her natural heritage, the state was compelled not only to contribute her full quota of men for the preservation of the Union, but also to fight for her own existence through one of the worst Indian uprisings that America has ever witnessed. The resulting conditions were far from conducive to the highest economic development and prosperity, and the effects may be seen in the history of banking during that period. In view of the inherent weaknesses of the existing system, it is doubtful whether results would have been different even under prosperous conditions unless radical changes had been made in the banking laws. This fact becomes evident when one studies the operations of the banks organized under the act of 1858.

By August 20, 1858, of the twelve applications for bank charters, three for banks to be located at Austin, Faribault, and Northfield, all under the control of B. W. Clarke, formerly of Milwaukee, had been accepted by the auditor. By September 12, 1858, six more applications had been approved. In the whole period ending October 8, 1858, eighteen applications were filed. In November the first banks went into operation, the Bank of the State of Minnesota at St. Paul and the Exchange Bank at Glencoe. The year closed without further accessions.[1] The new system was not inaugurated at an auspicious time. Trade was still in a depressed condition; taxes were unpaid; and mortgage sales and foreclosures were numerous.[2] But one bright ray shone through the gloom. An abundant harvest enabled Minnesota to take her place as a grain-exporting state.

An event occurred in the fall of the year that was vital in determining the status of the Minnesota state banks, not only

[1] *Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* August 20, September 12, October 8, 1858; *Winona Republican,* November 30, 1858; "State Auditor's Report" in *Senate Journal,* 1859–60, p. 730.

[2] *Daily Pioneer and Democrat,* October 7, November 25, 1858, March 10, 1859; *Winona Republican,* August 11, 1858.

in the state itself, but throughout the United States as well. Several railway corporations, including the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company, having complied with the conditions of the constitution entitling them to the issue of a certain amount of state bonds, applied to Governor Sibley for them, tendering in return a corresponding amount of their first mortgage bonds, amounting to about twenty-one million dollars. According to Sibley's interpretation of the constitution the first mortgage bonds of a railroad company were an exclusive first lien on the road, lands, and franchises of the company; therefore, he refused to accept the bonds unless a deed of trust were executed giving the state first lien. The Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company immediately applied to the supreme court for a writ of mandamus to compel Sibley to issue the bonds. In granting the writ the court (Flandrau dissenting) stated that the constitutional provision did not require that the railroads give the state a prior lien.[3]

This decision naturally caused the state railroad bonds to depreciate greatly in value. The amendment to the banking act had opened the door for the use of these bonds as security for the note issue of banks. Certain newspapers in Minnesota had from the beginning bitterly opposed the railroad loan.[4] Their opposition continued even after the people had voted their approval of the loan. After the supreme court decision they proclaimed the railroad bonds unfit as security for currency at par.[5] The Exchange Bank of Glencoe, the second state bank to be organized, deposited the bonds as security for its note issue, which was promptly declared unsafe.[6] In the winter of 1858–59 the railroad bonds, commonly known as Minnesota Sevens, were placed on sale in New York; but the adverse decision of the supreme court, the fact that notes

[3] Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company *v.* H. H. Sibley, Governor. 2 *Minnesota,* 1–20.

[4] The *Weekly Minnesotian,* beginning March 6, 1858, stopped at nothing in its attacks on the loan bill.

[5] *Weekly Minnesotian,* November 20, 1858.

[6] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* November 17, 1858.

issued with railroad bonds as security were looked at askance even in Minnesota, and the thinly veiled hints of repudiation by the hostile newspapers of the state, combined to give the bonds such a character that eastern financiers refused to accept them. Governor Sibley's visit to New York for the purpose of assisting the managers of the Minnesota railway companies in negotiating the bonds accomplished little in the way of effacing from the minds of eastern financiers memories of the railroad swindles of Wisconsin.[7] People in the East, moreover, were under the impression that the currency of Minnesota was based on the much-maligned bonds and were afraid of it. Willard and Morris of Chicago in their *Bank Note Reporter,* after congratulating the people of St. Paul upon having as their first bank one of such excellent character—the Bank of the State of Minnesota—stated that a little discretion in choosing securities would give Minnesota a currency as good as that of Illinois and Wisconsin. They warned the people, however, that notes secured by the railroad bonds would provide only a depreciated and dangerous currency. The delay in determining the financial status of these bonds prevented several institutions organized under the banking act from going into immediate operation.[8]

Notwithstanding warning from the East and adverse public opinion, the auditor and governor, possibly with the idea of creating confidence in the railroad bonds, in the months that followed accepted them at ninety-five and permitted several banks to organize and to issue notes secured by these certificates.[9] These banks were generally established by people

[7] The *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* of December 30, 1858, quotes from an article in the *New York Tribune* of December 17, written with a view to discredit the railroad bonds. The same paper in its issue of January 13, 1859, reprints from the *New York Herald* of December 31 a statement of Sibley's in which an attempt is made to correct the misrepresentations which had been circulated regarding the character of the securities and the circumstances under which they were issued. See also *Pioneer and Democrat,* January 20, 1859.

[8] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* December 9, 1858.

[9] *Weekly Minnesotian,* March 19, 1859.

interested in the railroads, who had large holdings of the bonds now practically worthless.[10] The state officials also accepted state university bonds as security for note issue, an action that raised a storm of protest throughout the state upon the ground that they were not state bonds. The Nicollet County Bank, whose issue was secured by university bonds, was promptly classed as wildcat.[11]

In a short time the engraved notes of the new banks began to appear and soon the state was flooded with them. Within a few months the words La Crosse and La Crescent, Owatonna, Glencoe, and the names of other "railroad" banks became familiar to every one. From the outset these new issues were viewed with distrust. Private bankers in St. Paul, who were issuing endorsed Bank of Gray notes and certificates of deposit, tried for reasons of their own to depreciate Minnesota money. In other states it scarcely circulated at all. Chicago brokers warned note-holders against it, even against that of the well-secured banks, because of their fear lest doubtful securities be substituted for present good ones; and St. Louis banks threw out all Minnesota currency with the single exception of the notes of the Farmers' Bank of Garden City, which they received on deposit.[12]

Not all the banks, however, based their note issue on the railroad bonds, as is shown by the history of the Bank of the State of Minnesota.[13] This institution was organized in St. Paul, October 1, 1858, the first to go into operation under the new law. Its circulation was based at the start on Minnesota eight per cent bonds, which never fell below par on the

[10] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* March 10, 1859.

[11] *Winona Republican,* March 2, 1859; *Stillwater Messenger,* February 15, 1859.

[12] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* March 24, April 8, 1859; *Weekly Minnesotian,* April 23, 1859.

[13] The facts concerning this bank may be obtained from J. Jay Knox, *History of Banking in the United States,* 754–756 (New York, 1900). Mr. Knox was a member of the private banking house of J. Jay Knox and Company, prominent in the banking business of the time, and was later United States comptroller of the currency.

New York Exchange. After the university ten per cent bonds had been declared state bonds for note issue purposes, this bank purchased the entire issue of forty thousand dollars and replaced ten thousand dollars of its eight per cent bonds with a corresponding amount of university bonds.[14] The bank had a capital of twenty-five thousand dollars, fully paid, and was owned by Sewell, Ferris, and Company of New York, who were also its correspondents in that city. Its officers were experienced bankers; its local business was profitable; but the expenses sustained in note redemption in New York made it impossible to maintain a legitimate business with a circulation in such a proportion to its capital as to be profitable. Gold coin and New York drafts were selling at a premium of from two to three per cent. With a circulation of but twenty-five thousand dollars it had to redeem about three hundred dollars of its notes daily in New York. This problem, faced by all the early banks in Minnesota, was a powerful factor in determining their location and operations.

Few, if any, of the banks at that time had a very great amount of capital aside from a small sum required for the redemption of any circulating notes that might be presented. They purchased their bonds on credit and paid for them with the notes which they received from the auditor, a practice which rarely left anything for the conduct of the business of the bank.[15] The corporators expected to receive their profits from the interest on the bonds. The banks were located, therefore, in remote or practically inaccessible towns and villages. Each bank maintained an agency in New York and Chicago, at which its notes were redeemed at from three to five per cent discount. This system was not altogether displeasing to the public, since the discount was less than the

[14] When placed on sale for the redemption of notes, these bonds fell to twenty-two cents on the dollar; but they were later redeemed by the university. Knox, *History of Banking,* 755.

[15] This privilege was granted under the provisions of an act of 1860 amending the banking law of 1858. *General Laws,* 1860, pp. 176–178.

expense involved in a journey to the bank in order to present the notes for redemption. Many of the banks also had agencies in St. Paul, from which they issued notes. The intent of the law undoubtedly was that banks should be located at the place where, according to the face, the notes were dated and issued; but, as express provisions were lacking on this point, the law was easily evaded, and the agencies were allowed to exist. According to the law, moreover, the bills of the bank were redeemable in coin at the place where they were (or apparently were) issued; but it became the general practice to issue the notes from the agency and to redeem them at the bank. Inconvenient as this system was to the people of the state, it was decidedly advantageous to the banks, since a bill-holder, desirous of the redemption of the bill in coin, upon presentation at the agency could be directed to repair to the bank, located in a frontier village perhaps one hundred miles away.[16]

In the early summer of 1859 the St. Paul brokers began a bold warfare against the banks whose issues were based on railroad bonds in order to test redemption and force the notes to be protested. They accumulated notes that were redeemable in gold, and, when a sufficient quantity had been secured, sent them to the issuing bank for redemption. Since exchange was high, with the gold thus obtained they could make a profit of from two to five per cent. In addition the brokers endeavored in various ways to create among the people a feeling of distrust of "organized banking institutions."[17] By June 23, 1859, one bank had collapsed and three others were tottering.[18]

[16] Knox, *History of Banking*, 756; *Weekly Minnesotian*, April 23, 1859; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, August 12, 1859; *Stillwater Democrat*, October 1, 1859.

[17] *Stillwater Democrat*, June 4, 1859; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, June 8, 1859; *Winona Republican*, June 22, 1859.

[18] The Bank of Glencoe had closed its doors, and the notes of the Bank of Owatonna, the Bank of Rochester, and the Chisago County Bank were no longer current. Nine banks only remained in operation. *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, June 23, 1859.

The opposition to notes secured by railroad bonds became so strong that on July 9, 1859, merchants and business men held a meeting at the courthouse in St. Paul. Resolutions were adopted denouncing railroad currency and protesting against the issue of more notes of this type. A committee was appointed to wait on the governor and present the protest. Notes issued upon other securities were expressly approved.[19] No results from this or other meetings can be discovered.

Another blow was struck at railroad currency when the Minnesota Supreme Court issued a writ of mandamus to compel the attorney general to apply to a justice of the court "for leave to bring an action, in the name of the State, against the 'Bank of La Crosse and La Crescent,' to annul its charter, for alleged violations of law." The claim was made that the amendment to the banking act, upon which the issuance of notes secured by railroad bonds was based, was unconstitutional, since it had been passed by less than the required two-thirds vote; and that such note issues were, therefore, illegal.[20] The archives of the clerk of the supreme court show that the writ of mandamus was served on the attorney general, August 4, 1859; there is, however, no record that the court granted that official leave to bring suit against the Bank of La Crosse and La Crescent. This institution continued its note issues secured by railroad bonds until the state system collapsed in 1865.

One morning in the fall of 1859 news was received in St. Paul that Sewell, Ferris, and Company had become involved in a disastrous speculation in New York and had failed. Upon the receipt of the news the Bank of the State of Minnesota closed its doors. It was generally recognized that the Nicollet County Bank of St. Peter, of which Sewell, Ferris, and Com-

[19] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* July 14, 1859; *Weekly Minnesotian,* July 16, 1859.

[20] State of Minnesota *ex rel.* William L. Banning *v.* Charles H. Berry. 3 *Minnesota,* 190. For a review of the proceedings in the supreme court, see the *Weekly Minnesotian,* July 30, 1859; *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* July 28, 1859.

pany were the owners, must also soon take similar action. For a few hours there was great excitement in St. Paul. Runs began on the agencies, all of which, with one exception, referred their bill-holders to their respective banks. About the same time several railroad banks closed their doors. Railroad bonds, when thrown on the market in order to provide funds for the redemption of the notes, were quoted at from thirteen to thirty and one-half cents on the dollar, a depreciation resulting in much loss to the note-holders.[21]

In the latter part of October, 1859, the general confidence which the people had in those banks whose notes were secured by other than railroad bonds was practically destroyed. On October 21 it was learned that one of the banks standing highest in public confidence—the Bank of St. Paul—had substituted in August railroad bonds for Ohio Sixes as security for its note issue. Its action met with the severest condemnation and resulted in a run upon the bank, which lasted all day. The fact that even the best of the local currency might be rendered worthless by the substitution of poor for good securities called forth the opinion that all home currency should be treated as worthless and driven from circulation.[22]

Immigration was very light during 1859; but it was thought that the large crops of that fall would enable the people of Minnesota, in spite of currency troubles, to enter upon a new period of prosperity with the beginning of the next year.[23] The prices offered, however, were so low that the producers could scarcely pay expenses. Many people left the state temporarily. A writer in the *New York Journal of Commerce,* describing the situation in Minnesota, declares: "Property holders are burdened with heavy taxes, and money lenders

[21] *Weekly Minnesotian,* October 15, 23, 1859. Twelve of the banks which had been organized used Minnesota Sevens (railroad bonds) as security for their note issues. On May 23, 1860, Minnesota Sevens brought from sixteen to seventeen cents on the dollar and university bonds, thirty cents. *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* July 28, 1859.

[22] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* October 21, 1859.

[23] *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat,* July 21, 1859.

frequently find more land mortgages as collaterals upon their hands, than they are able to pay taxes upon, and at the same time are paying Eastern capitalists from 7 to 10 per cent. for money loaned on the same security."[24] As a consequence the advertising columns of the papers of the territory were filled with notices of mortgage sales.[25] On February 10, 1860, in an effort to relieve the tension, the legislature passed an interest law which fixed the maximum rate at twelve per cent a year.[26]

More than a year had now elapsed since the passage of the state banking act, and in that time it had proved a failure. Of the sixteen banks that had been organized by December 1, 1859, but seven remained; and some of these had announced an intention of closing up their business.[27] The public and the merchants of the state had exhibited considerable distrust and a decided disinclination to use the currency; the private bankers received it at a discount; people of other states looked upon it with disfavor. The banks were unable to stand the pressure.

These facts led the auditor in his report of December 9, 1859, and Governor Sibley in his annual message of December 7, 1859, to the legislature, to recommend the repeal of the general banking law. Furthermore, Governor Ramsey in his inaugural address of January 2, 1860, urged the repeal of the existing law and the substitution of "that of some one of our neighboring States, which, after years of severest trial, has been found to furnish a currency safe and desirable."[28] In spite of the recommendations of the state officials, who were most intimately acquainted with the banking system, no important changes were made. For many years the law known

[24] Quoted in the *Stillwater Democrat,* October 15, 1859.

[25] The *Stillwater Democrat* of February 25, 1860, advertised twenty-seven mortgage sales.

[26] *General Laws,* 1860, p. 226.

[27] "State Auditor's Report" in *Senate Journal,* 1859–60, pp. 719, 738.

[28] *Senate Journal,* 1859–60, pp. 10–16, 123, 719.

to be inefficient and to all purposes practically useless remained as the only banking legislation of the state.[29]

The spring of 1860 brought new troubles into the financial world, for a large number of Illinois banks refused to furnish additional securities to make up for the depreciation of Missouri bonds, the basis of their note issues.[30] Loss of confidence in its own banks had caused the public of Minnesota to turn to Wisconsin and Illinois for currency for the transaction of business; consequently the depreciation of this currency caused a serious derangement in the local business world. Banking funds became scarce, and collections were hard to make.[31] To meet this situation, merchants and others began to issue "checks" of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, and fifty cents to provide small change. Such issues were very numerous and, withal, rather convenient, though they were also a great annoyance. Specie disappeared, and mistakes in change were frequently made; for example, a thirty-dollar check was paid out in change instead of a thirty-cent check. Many of these small checks were worthless because no signatures were attached and too many people issued them.[32]

Upon the commencement of hostilities between the North and South, the Wisconsin and Illinois bank notes suffered greater depreciation due to the fact that they were secured in large part by the deposit of bonds of the southern states. The financial affairs of Minnesota, in common with the whole Northwest, were seriously disturbed. Exchange on New York rose to ten per cent premium. Abundant crops in 1859 and 1860 had stocked the granaries, and it was hoped that sales in the East would bring in eastern currency or coin.[33] This

[29] By the act of March 5, 1860, the note issue was changed to ninety-five per cent of the current market value of the stocks deposited. *General Laws*, 1860, pp. 176–178.

[30] *Stillwater Messenger*, February 28, 1860.

[31] *Winona Republican*, December 19, 1860.

[32] *Winona Republican*, January 9, 1861.

[33] *Winona Republican*, May 8, 22, 1861; *Stillwater Messenger*, May 28, 1861. There were estimated to be at least two million dollars of notes

hope was not fulfilled, and during the years covered by the period of the war Minnesota had but a comparatively small amount of currency.

At the beginning of the year 1862 the number of banks in operation in Minnesota was six, but in June two failed and the currency was further curtailed by the retirement of their notes. Of the remaining banks two, the Bank of La Crosse and La Crescent and the Bank of Chatfield, although organized under the Minnesota laws, maintained no office of discount, deposit, and circulation in the state; their circulation, secured by a deposit of Minnesota railroad bonds, was confined entirely to Wisconsin. The general character of the notes issued prior to January 1, 1863, may be better understood by a review of the bank failures and the rates at which the notes were redeemed during this period. These were as follows: Bank of Rochester, 16¼ cents; Chisago County Bank, 19¼ cents; Fillmore County Bank, 20 cents; Bank of Owatonna, 20¾ cents; Exchange Bank of Glencoe, 21¼ cents; Central Bank, 30 cents; Nicollet County Bank, 35 cents; Bank of the State of Minnesota, 70 cents; and Bank of St. Paul, 98 cents. Of these banks it will be noticed that seven paid thirty-five cents or less on the dollar on the notes in circulation at the time they closed. The rates of redemption show clearly the heavy losses which the bill-holders of these banks were compelled to undergo.[34]

Commenting on the banking situation, the state auditor, in his report of December 31, 1861, says: "The only Minnesota banks circulating in the State are the Winona County and People's, with a circulation of only $21,863. The taxable valuation of the State being nearly $40,000,000, a ready circulation would be found for at least $1,000,000 currency. In

in Minnesota based on bonds of southern states. *Winona Republican,* April 10, 1861. On January 1, 1861, according to the state auditor's report there were $137,679 of Minnesota bank notes outstanding. *Annual Reports,* 1861, p. 5.

[34] State Auditor, *Annual Reports,* 1861, p. 5; 1862, p. 17.

ordinary times it would be the policy of the State to encourage a circulation to that amount, giving preference to her own stocks.[35] From present appearances no further issue of notes on State securities will be profitable, consequently the State must wait for the General Government to mature a policy for a National circulating medium."[36] Governor Ramsey, in his annual message to the legislature, January 9, 1862, after expressing the opinion that in many instances the currency of neighboring states introduced into Minnesota had "proved itself even less entitled to public confidence than our own," declared that the bank failures of Wisconsin and Illinois had "proved the whole system of Western banking upon State stocks to be false in principle and ruinous in its operation." He looked with favor upon the proposed currency to be issued by the national government and, after enumerating some of its advantages, ventured the belief that it would provide "a final relief from the recurrence of the enormous losses which are now suffered by our people, with the periodical explosion of the banks."[37]

During this period the cost of labor and commodities steadily increased. In spite of the drain of the war upon the male population an increased acreage of land was sown, and, with the beginning of Scandinavian immigration, the outlook for the future appeared brighter than for several years previous. State banking reflected the industrial activity of the state, and on the first day of January, 1863, seven banks were in operation having an aggregate capital of $318,000 and an outstanding circulation of $198,107, secured for the most part by United States bonds, the state Eights, and the war bonds.[38]

[35] In 1861 the auditor was authorized to accept securities of the United States bearing five per cent interest. The previous rate was six per cent. *General Laws,* 1861, p. 170.

[36] State Auditor, *Annual Reports,* 1862, p. 18.

[37] *Executive Documents,* 1861, p. 13.

[38] *Stillwater Messenger,* July 2, 16, 1861; State Auditor, *Annual Reports,* 1863, pp. 35–39.

The National Banking System, 1863–74

The year 1863 is marked by the enactment of the National Banking Act and by the organization of the first national bank within the state. The state officials, who were best acquainted with the weaknesses of the state system, looked with favor upon the proposed national banking system, and their view was shared generally by the people.[39] The Democratic Party, however, was on principle bitterly opposed to such a system, particularly to one based on badly secured notes. Bitter attacks were made upon the financial scheme of the government, while the most direful predictions were made as to the results certain to obtain were such a system to be inaugurated.[40] In the ensuing two years the national banking system was considered by its opponents as the cause of all the financial troubles which the United States experienced.

On February 17, 1863, Hon. J. H. Brisbin of St. Paul introduced in the lower chamber of the legislature a set of resolutions declaring that the legislature of Minnesota was unalterably opposed to the national banking bill or any similar bill, for eleven enumerated reasons. The house refused to print these resolutions and by a party vote laid them on the table.[41]

[39] *Winona Republican,* July 2, 1862.

[40] The *St. Paul Pioneer* of January 17, 1863, declared that "the immediate consequence of adding $300,000,000 to our currency, must be to inaugurate one of the most stupendous eras of speculation ever known in this or any other country. The present values will be largely increased. Stocks will advance, and the price of real estate will be enormously enhanced. . . . An unnatural rise must be followed by a corresponding fall." The same paper in the issue of January 24 declared that should the national government monopolize all bank note issues of the country, state banks, state bonds, bankers, financiers, and the business community would go down together, "displaying such a financial wreck as the world has never yet witnessed or conceived. . . . Green-backs will become as plenty and cheap in Wall street as wall paper! . . . Such a plan, applied to our present situation, would involve People, States, and Federal Government in universal confusion, tumult, and bankruptcy; the climax of which would be a Reign of Terror, in which the lowest and worst class of citizens would enjoy a carnival of fierce indulgence."

[41] *St. Paul Pioneer,* February 18, 1863; *House Journal,* 1863, p. 223.

That this opposition was not entirely barren of results is shown by the fact that one of the four Minnesota members of Congress voted against the bill, the other three voting for it.[42]

Minnesota financiers were slow to establish banks under the new act, apparently preferring to wait and observe the experience of banks operating in other states before embarking in the new enterprise. During the first nine months following the passage of the measure a number of new state banks were placed in operation in Minnesota, but no national banks, although several banks in neighboring states were organized under the national system.[43] The failure to organize national banks in Minnesota was due to several reasons. Minnesota was still a frontier state and was less advanced commercially and industrially than the other states. The regulations under which state banks could be organized were, moreover, less stringent than those of the national system. Finally, the large capital necessary for the organization of banks under the national system was lacking at that time, while a nominal capital was all that most banks needed to remain in operation under the state system. Not until December 8, 1863, when the First National Bank of St. Paul was organized with a paid-in capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, increased in September of the following year to five hundred thousand dollars, did the new system obtain its first foothold in the state. It is interesting to note that this bank was but the reorganized and converted Bank of Minnesota, incorporated under the state banking laws in 1862.

[42] Senator Rice voted against the bill, and Senator Wilkinson and Representatives Windom and Aldrich voted for it. 37 Congress, 3 session, *Congressional Globe,* 897, 1148. The act was approved on February 25, 1863; it was amended by the act of June 3, 1864. United States, *Statutes at Large,* 12:665–682, 13:98–118.

[43] Up to the date of the report of the comptroller of the currency, November 28, 1863, twenty banks had been organized in Indiana, seven in Illinois, six in Iowa, four in Wisconsin, four in Michigan, thirty-eight in Ohio, and two in Missouri. United States Secretary of the Treasury, *Reports,* 1863, p. 49.

The state had prospered during 1862 and 1863. Although the summer of 1863 had been characterized by drouth, a good harvest had been gathered. Railroad construction had commenced; the industrial prosperity of 1862 continued; and from an economic point of view the people enjoyed the best year, in spite of the Indian troubles, that they had experienced since the summer of 1857.[44] This prosperity accounts for the organization of the first national bank in the state; six new banks were also incorporated under the state laws in the year ending November 30, 1863, making a total of thirteen state banks in operation at that date. The state auditor reports that "these Banks are all located in the chief commercial towns of the State, and are owned and controlled by reliable business men of acknowledged integrity."[45]

With the beginning of 1864 the state entered upon another year of industrial development. The inflation of the currency, which had been in progress during the past year, produced an unprecedented rise in the cost of living as measured in greenbacks. Under a similar standard of measurement gold, which on June 2, 1864, was quoted at 190, on July 12 reached 282, the highest point during the war.[46] The greenbacks made exchanges easier and more numerous, giving an impetus to trade and inducing activity, which resulted in higher prices for both commodities and real estate. Several railroads were in process of construction, and the demand for labor was great.[47]

[44] Railroad Commissioner, *Annual Reports,* 1872, pp. 7, 10.

[45] The aggregate capital of the six new banks was $262,500, and the circulation, $154,580, bringing the aggregate total of state bank capital to $662,500 and of circulation to $412,398. One bank, the Bank of Winona, issued no notes; those of the Bank of La Crosse and La Crescent and of the People's Bank were still secured by state railroad bonds, but the circulation of the other ten banks, amounting to $366,525, was well secured, the average market value of the securities during the previous six months being $411,382. The thirteen state banks were located at Minneapolis, St. Paul, Stillwater, Red Wing, Hastings, Winona, Chatfield, Hokah, and St. Peter. State Auditor, *Annual Reports,* 1864, pp. 21, 68.

[46] *St. Paul Pioneer,* June 5, July 12, 1864.

[47] Governor Miller's message of January 4, 1865, in *Executive Documents,* 1864, p. 19.

During the spring of the year the currency again gave cause for concern, but on this occasion it was not the notes of the banks of Minnesota or of neighboring states which were the source of apprehension. On April 17 the First National Bank, the Marine Bank, and several brokers in St. Paul gave notice that they would neither receive nor pay out the notes of banks of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Michigan "except such as are being redeemed at par in Philadelphia or New York." On May 12, 1864, agents of the Northwestern and of the La Crosse and St. Paul packet companies announced that on and after May 15 they would receive nothing but national currency for tickets. Two days after this announcement the bankers of the state held a meeting in St. Paul and adopted the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That the Banks of the State of Minnesota, represented in this Convention, regarding it for the interest alike of the public and the Banks, that all money in circulation shall be made equivalent in value with the lawful money of the United States, agree that on and after July 1, 1864, they will receive and pay out as bankable funds only Treasury Notes, National Currency, and the issues of Minnesota Banks which are redeemable in lawful money of the United States within the State.

This course was a necessary consequence of similar action taken in Chicago and other commercial centers to prevent the flooding of the West with currency discarded in other places, and was effective in saving the people from financial loss.[48]

During the summer months two new banks were organized, one a national and one a state bank.[49] The auditor's report for 1864 showed that the fourteen state banks then in operation were in splendid condition. They were apparently in no haste to reorganize as national banks, though several had announced their intention to do so.[50] The situation was

[48] *St. Paul Pioneer,* April 17, May 12, 20, 1864.

[49] The First National Bank of Rochester was organized September 7, 1864.

[50] State Auditor, *Annual Reports,* 1865, p. 24.

changed, however, when Congress, acting upon the recommendation of the comptroller of the currency, inserted a provision in the revenue act of March 3, 1865, imposing a tax of ten per cent a year upon the circulation of state banks paid out by them after July 1, 1866. The passage of this measure forced the banks either to retire their circulation and close up their business or to incorporate under the national system. On March 2, 1865, the Minnesota legislature, following the precedent established in other states, passed "An act to facilitate the reorganization of banks incorporated under the laws of this state into national banks." By October 1, 1866, fifteen national banks were in operation with an aggregate capital of $1,660,000; while the state banks had all surrendered their charters.[51]

The period following the close of the war was one of great financial ease. The large expenditures of the government in the payment of war claims, war bounties, amounts due discharged soldiers, and other debts made money very plentiful locally.[52] Greatly increased activity in all lines of industrial and commercial life inevitably resulted. Railroad building progressed rapidly, agriculture was given a great impetus by the steadily increasing population, and interstate trade developed.[53] The effect of this industrial activity at once manifested itself in the banking business of the state, which was carried on efficiently and effectively, in happy contrast to the methods employed by the state banks a few years before. The bankers were of great assistance to the growing industries and in return profited by the latter's prosperity. During this period

[51] United States, *Statutes at Large,* 13: 484; Minnesota, *General Laws,* 1865, p. 74; *Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1866,* pp. 180, 184 (39 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 3—serial 1287); State Auditor, *Annual Reports,* 1867, p. 22.

[52] George E. Warner and Charles M. Foote (eds.), *History of Dakota County,* 157 (Minneapolis, 1881).

[53] Governor Austin's inaugural address of January 7, 1870, in *Executive Documents,* 1869, pp. 1–9. The United States census for 1870 gave the population of the state as 439,706. *United States Census,* 1870, vol. 1, p. 40.

the national banking system enjoyed an almost complete monopoly of the banking business. By 1870 practically every town of importance in the southeastern section of Minnesota had at least one national bank, and in 1871 seven new national banks were established in the same district.[54]

The early seventies comprised one of the most notable boom periods in the economic history of Minnesota. Inflation and speculation were rife, and both the state and the railroads enjoyed an unusual period of material progress and development.[55] As a consequence of these "good times" the number of banks and the amount of business transacted showed a substantial increase. A serious effort to operate banks under the state banking laws was made in the years 1872 and 1873; these institutions did not, however, issue notes. Several banking firms were incorporated; and, although in some cases their lights flickered out in a short time, they showed the way to others, and soon a steadily increasing number of state banks were contesting in the business field with the national institutions.[56] This renewal was undoubtedly due to the increasing use of deposits as a circulatory medium. In 1874, when the first complete records are available, the banks of the two systems were located for the most part in southeastern Minnesota.

On September 16, 1873, the failure of the banking house of Jay Cooke precipitated a panic which spread throughout the United States. In Minnesota, after the first few days, its effects were scarcely noticeable beyond a slight stringency in the money market, a cessation of railroad building, and a dull-

[54] From 1865 to 1871 only one attempt was made to establish a state bank. The City Bank of St. Paul was organized on April 29, 1869; it became a national bank in 1873. State Department of Banking, *Reports,* 1912, p. 9.

[55] Warner and Foote, *History of Dakota County,* 158; Governor Austin's annual message of January 9, 1873, in *Executive Documents,* 1872, vol. 1, p. 5.

[56] State Department of Banking, *Reports,* 1912, pp. 7–10.

ness in real estate for several years.[57] But few mercantile institutions failed and not one bank closed its doors—a striking commentary on the economic and financial progress of the state since 1857, when similar circumstances threw it into convulsions.

With the steady industrial development of the state since 1874, there has come a gradual increase in the number and size of the banking institutions. Only the crisis of 1893 has broken the chain of prosperous years that have passed since 1874.

Sydney A. Patchin

Minneapolis, Minnesota

[57] Atwater, *History of Minneapolis*, 517.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN WAR TIME

At first thought it might seem that students and teachers of history as such would be less affected by the Great War and by the participation of the United States therein than almost any other group of citizens. That thought is based on the conception of the historian as an antiquarian interested only in the remote past and giving no heed to the possible bearing of his material on the life of the present. The modern student of history, however, considers that one of his principal objects in investigating the past is to contribute to an accurate understanding of the present, which is an outgrowth of that past.

Shortly after the adoption by Congress of the resolution declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany, a number of the most eminent historical scholars of the United States met in Washington and organized the National Board for Historical Service. "The main function of the board" is declared to be "to serve the nation, in a time when the national problems of war and of ultimate peace cannot receive their best solution without the light of historical knowledge, by mediating between the possessors of such knowledge on the one hand, and on the other hand the government and the public who need it; in a word, to mobilize the historical forces of the country for all the services to which they can be put."[1] Under the auspices of this board "history men" all over the country have been collecting and disseminating information of an historical character bearing on the problems connected with the war. Some of the results of this work have been or are to be published by the Committee on Public Information of the

[1] For fuller information about the purposes and activities of the National Board for Historical Service, see the *American Historical Review*, 21: 831–835, 918 (July, 1917); and the *History Teacher's Magazine*, 8: 199 (June, 1917).

federal government. This coöperation between the board, which is a purely unofficial organization, and the government has been facilitated by the appointment of Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, professor of history in the University of Minnesota and a member of the council of the Minnesota Historical Society, to the position of director of the division of civic and educational coöperation of the Committee on Public Information. Dr. Ford was one of the group of men who were instrumental in organizing the board and he is now serving as one of its members.

One of the devices selected by the board for encouraging the study of the historical background of the war and particularly of American participation therein has been the establishment of a series of contests in the writing of essays by public school teachers on the subject "Why the United States is at War." The generosity of a patriotic citizen of Minnesota, who prefers that his name remain unknown, has made it possible for one of these contests to be conducted in this state, and the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society has been placed in charge of local arrangements. The prizes offered for the best essay aggregate three hundred dollars and are equally divided into two groups, one for teachers in high schools and one for those in public elementary schools. The contest is being given publicity by the distribution of circulars and through the press, and the prospects are that a large number of teachers will participate. Six prominent citizens of the state are to be chosen to act as judges, three for each class of contestants; and the essays are all to be submitted by January 1.

Another phase of the activity of the national board is the encouragement of the collection and preservation of materials for the history of American participation in the war. A committee has been appointed to prepare a manual on this subject for distribution to libraries, historical societies, and others who may be interested in the work. It is obvious that the best time to gather the materials for history, particularly such as are of a fugitive and ephemeral nature, is when they are

current; but it would never occur to the average individual, unless his attention were specially called to it, that such things might be worth preserving, although he would be quick to recognize the interest and value of similar items of the Revolutionary or Civil War periods. Frequently librarians, and sometimes even those in charge of historical collections, fail to realize that the present will soon be the past and that current material will be the sources of history in the future.

Fortunately there are, here and there, men who recognize the opportunity and are making the most of it. In North Carolina the state council of defense has appointed an historical committee headed by R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and this committee is circulating a leaflet calling attention to the various classes of material which should be preserved. One of the most promising plans is that developed by the council of defense of Eau Claire County, Wisconsin. Under the leadership of W. W. Bartlett, chairman, the committee has arranged for the compilation of scrapbooks containing clippings from the local papers, programs, handbills, and pictures relating to the country's participation in the war. Correspondence from men in service and reports from local organizations are also to be collected and preserved. All this material, it is expected, will be turned over to the local library.

In Minnesota the historical society has followed the practice for a number of years of collecting a considerable amount of typical ephemera of the present day, and it was easy to include the war material. Interesting examples of the results of this work are the recruiting posters collected from the local offices of the British Recruiting Mission and the Navy League, and from the United States Marine Recruiting Station in St. Paul. Attempts are being made to secure representatives in all parts of the state who will gather war material for the society in their localities, and local libraries are urged to make similar collections. The field agent of the society, Mr. Holbrook, is able to accomplish considerable along these lines in the communi-

ties which he visits. Among the most valuable records are those which accumulate in the hands of the county directors appointed by the Minnesota Public Safety Commission; at the suggestion of the historical society the commission sent a circular letter to each of these men directing them to preserve all records and correspondence, and ultimately to turn them over to the society. For a large part of his material the future historian of the rôle played by the state and its component parts in the war will have to rely upon files of newspapers. The Minnesota Historical Society has for many years been receiving and preserving the current issues of hundreds of newspapers and periodicals published in the state. At the time of the declaration of war the list included over half the entire number with at least one from each county. Many other papers have now been added, including especially those which reflect or mold the opinions of special groups or interests. In addition to the accumulation of this material, members of the staff of the society have been examining the files and making an index of all the valuable material illustrative of Minnesota's participation in the war.

Some of the subjects touched upon in this note will probably be dealt with more fully in future issues of the BULLETIN, particularly the ways and means of collecting and preserving material. Enough has been said, however, to make it clear that the worker in the field of history who desires to do so can find ample opportunity for service in war time along the line of his profession or avocation.

SOLON J. BUCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

THE PRESERVATION OF NEWSPAPERS

In popular estimation the newspaper is cheap, yet few things appeal more intimately to humanity. It instructs the inquiring, delights the gossip lover, gauges public sentiment for the politician, vents man's vanity, and punishes the evil-doer. No

one can afford to be without it. Nor does its usefulness end with the day or week of publication as is frequently supposed. The despised "back number" has a value that increases as the years pass. Not alone does the historian find in its pages mines of priceless information, but public officials, attorneys, students, business men—in fact all classes—consult it for facts of supreme importance for their peculiar needs. It is quite a matter of course, then, that those organizations which have made it their task to collect and preserve historical material should include in such material files of newspapers.

The Minnesota Historical Society has from the time of its establishment endeavored to make its collection of Minnesota papers as complete as possible. The collection contains at the present time upwards of twelve thousand bound volumes, including the only existing earliest files of St. Paul and St. Anthony papers, the first published in Minnesota. On August 1, 1917, the library was receiving regularly 407 Minnesota papers, comprising 27 dailies, 371 weeklies, 8 semi-weeklies, and 1 triweekly. That the society has been able to build up this splendid collection has been largely due to the coöperation, through the donation of their journals, of the publishers of the state, who recognize the manifest advantage to themselves of so doing. It is with the hope that the benefits enjoyed by each may be more completely realized that some of the details connected with the work of caring for these papers are herewith presented.

Some of the editor-publishers may not be aware that the papers they send in to the society are preserved and bound. This, in truth, is done with unremitting care and orderliness. When a sheet is printed unevenly, as often happens, it is so folded that no important local news, legal adverstising, or proceedings of local governing boards may be sacrificed to the binder's trimmer. When a paper is received badly torn, or with an essential part gone, or is defective through careless press work or other causes, it is not bound with the other numbers unless a requisition on the publisher for a perfect copy

is disregarded. Even small rents, especially on margins, are mended. Half-sheets and tiny supplements are pasted in, to prevent their being lost or misplaced. Traveled visitors, including members of the American Library Association, have been good enough to say that the Minnesota collection is kept in the best shape of any in the country.

The work of binding is often hampered, however, by reason of missing numbers; it is important that the files be complete, for sad experience born of unheeded warnings has proved that the copy that is lacking is sometimes the most sorely needed of all. To secure these numbers anywhere from one to a dozen requests, by postal card or letter or by both, are sent out to the publishers in each case. While many responses are made to the first request, in some instances no reply is received either in the shape of the desired copies or in explanation of their non-appearance. A note from the publisher designating the copies that he is unable to supply is helpful. It frequently happens that missing numbers which it has seemed impossible to acquire come straggling in after long delays; their insertion in the bound volumes results in a badly misshapen book. Some newspaper owners apparently ignore our reiterated appeals on principle. In one or two instances whole months are lacking, and the case is so hopeless that missing copies are no longer asked for and the files are all but worthless. In 1915 sixty publishers were remiss, with 116 issues; and in 1916 seventy-one publishers, with a total of 286 missing copies, failed to reply. Happily no grounds for complaint exist as to the dailies. So promptly and courteously have the needs of the society been responded to that every file for years past is complete.

Through their coöperation in this public service the newspaper publishers are performing a service advantageous to themselves. Many of them hold their own files for years before binding, and some do not attempt to bind at all. The papers are often pitched into haphazard storage where they gather dirt and furnish food for mice. When a publisher must

have a back number, he is likely to find it only after overhauling the entire confused heap. Frequently the copy sought can not be found; perhaps it is not there at all; a whole month's file may be gone. It often happens, when a suit involving a contested or unsettled estate is pending and the evidence of a published legal notice is imperative, that a publisher is called upon by an order of the court to produce a copy of his paper issued five, ten, or twenty years ago, and finds himself unable to comply with the demand. A more serious danger which threatens the files of the country publisher is the destruction of his printing shop by fire. In such circumstances what a comfort for him to know that well-bound files of his paper from the first number are deposited safely and guarded vigilantly in the library of the historical society at the state capital. A few years ago a suit involving heavy property interests was being tried at Crookston; in the course of the trial it became necessary to adjourn court in order that an attorney might go to St. Paul to see a legal advertisement which appeared in a certain paper, the only copy of which in existence was preserved in the historical library, the home office with its files having been destroyed by fire. In preparing their semicentennial anniversary number of May 25, 1917, the publishers of the *Minneapolis Tribune,* thrice visited by fire, would have been at sea but for the society's newspaper division. From it they obtained not only the loan of the first copy, which they reproduced in facsimile, but valuable missing links in the history of the paper, which might possibly have been secured from other sources, but only at the expense of weeks and perhaps months of quasi-detective work.

It would be advantageous both to reader and newspaper custodian were the number of pages and sections contained stated on the first page of every issue. This is, of course, unnecessary where the sheet is invariably of the same size and all in one section. Suppose a publisher puts out two sections regularly for years. Then the paper comes with but one section, sometimes labeled "section 1." The custodian

sends for section 2 and is informed that there was none. The second part may reappear the following week or it may be suspended for a longer time and then resumed. A little care for details of this character on the part of publishers lessens appreciably the troubles of the newspaper librarian.

Working with the society for the public good, the editors of the state have it in their power to enhance the mutually beneficial relations that have existed so long and in the main so pleasantly between themselves and the society. They can dissipate much of the ignorance, apathy, and misunderstanding regarding the society which arise from unacquaintance with its work. That these are so prevalent throughout the state is not to be wondered at when right in St. Paul there are thousands of people who are unaware that the historical society has such a thing as a newspaper collection, and who think that it still burrows in the Old Capitol, vacated twelve years ago! Let editors and publishers consider at all times the growing importance of the society as a vital force in the educational system of the state. Let them think of their children and of their readers' children, whose education is to be perfected at the state university, with which institution the society is closely affiliated.

The Minnesota Historical Society lives and works for to-morrow. Its nature and purposes appeal to all intelligent men save those unable to emerge from the narrow channels of self-interest; those whom nothing but financial gain or sensuous pleasures can attract. Under territory and state, in the interest of this society and therefore of posterity, Minnesotans most eminent in statesmanship and in official, professional, and business life have given liberally of their time, strength, and means, with no reward whatsoever aside from that indescribable satisfaction which is his who has rendered unselfish public service of value.

It has been said sneeringly that this organization is founded merely upon sentiment. Granted. But they who speak contemptuously of sentiment are the unthinking. Patriotism

itself is "nothing but sentiment." And the mainspring of the patient, persevering, oft baffled efforts of the creators, officers, and members of the Minnesota Historical Society from 1849 to 1917 has been of the same spirit that is about to bring victory to our arms on battlefields beyond the sea. In things having to do with the very bedrock of life, the real essentials which shall endure until time is not, sentiment counts for incalculably more than the dollar.

JOHN TALMAN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Surface Formations and Agricultural Conditions of Northeastern Minnesota (Minnesota Geological Survey, *Bulletins,* no. 13). By Frank Leverett and Frederick W. Sardeson. With a chapter on Climatic Conditions of Minnesota by U. G. Purssell. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1917. vi, 72 p. Maps, plates, diagrams)

This bulletin is the second part of a report produced by the coöperation of the Minnesota and United States geological surveys, of which the first part, on the northwest quarter of the state, published two years ago, was reviewed in the May, 1915, number of the Minnesota History Bulletin (1:59–61). Another part, treating of the south half of Minnesota and completing this work, is expected soon to be issued.

Professor William H. Emmons, director of the Minnesota survey, contributes a short introduction. Chapter 1, on the physical features of the state, has three full-page maps. The first shows the altitude above the sea by the contour lines of one thousand, fifteen hundred, and two thousand feet. The second outlines the diverse drift sheets, the loess of southeastern Minnesota, and the glacial Lakes Agassiz and Duluth. The third shows the areas of forest and prairie; it needs, however, a correction to outline a considerably wider tract of the predominantly prairie region east of the Red River, placing therein nearly all of Mahnomen, Polk, Red Lake, Pennington, Marshall, and Roseau counties.

Three glacial lakes, held by barriers of the departing ice sheet, are described and partly delineated by this report and its maps: Lake Agassiz, in the drainage area of the Red River and Lake Winnipeg, named by the present writer in 1879; Lake Duluth, in the Lake Superior basin, first named by me in 1894 as the Western Superior glacial lake, but soon renamed Lake Duluth by Taylor; and Lake Upham, named by the late Professor N. H. Winchell in 1901, occupying an area of about 1,250 square miles of the St. Louis River basin, with outlet across the Savanna

portage to Sandy Lake and the upper Mississippi. On the international boundary Lake Agassiz reached east to Lac La Croix and the western end of Hunters Island, on a meridian somewhat east of the east end of Vermilion Lake. Above the city of Duluth one of the upper shore lines of the glacial Lake Duluth is marked by the massive beach of gravel and sand which is followed by the boulevard, 470 to 475 feet above Lake Superior. For a fourth and nearly contemporaneous ancient lake, of about five hundred square miles in area as here mapped, named Lake Aitkin by my report on Aitkin County in 1899, having a well-defined beach in and adjoining the town of this name, further field work seems desirable to demonstrate its relationship to the waning and lobate ice sheet, since it may be explainable, as the present report suggests, by being held in a temporary drift basin, and being later drained away when the Mississippi River eroded a deeper channel in the morainal drift below this lake.

On the folded map of northeastern Minnesota, which accompanies this report, showing in much detail the surface formations, large areas, mainly occupied by outcropping rocks, are mapped from Rainy Lake eastward, adjoining the international boundary and including the two great tracts, of very irregular outlines, which have been designated as the Superior National Forest. A narrower belt of predominant rock outcrops is also mapped, though with some interruptions, at a little distance back from the north shore of Lake Superior along all its extent in Minnesota, from Fond du Lac and Duluth to Pigeon Point. Another such rock belt forms the Mesabi Range, from near Hibbing and Chisholm east and northeastward for fifty miles. For these tracts of rock at or near the surface the map gives this descriptive note: "The rock is exposed or scantily covered by drift, but among the rock knobs are depressions and plains in which forests flourish. Of low grade for agriculture and largely uncultivated."

Chapter 2 is a reprint from the preceding publication on northwestern Minnesota, being a very valuable summary of the climatic conditions of the whole state, contributed by the director of the Minnesota section of the United States Weather Bureau. It has nine full-page maps and ten tables, giving the mean yearly and monthly records, from many years of observations, of tem-

perature, rainfall, and snowfall, and the prevailing directions and average velocity of winds.

The third and final chapter comprises a general statement of the surface geology of northeastern Minnesota and detailed descriptions of each of its counties, namely, Cook, Lake, St. Louis, Koochiching, Itasca, Aitkin, and Carlton, with parts of Cass and Crow Wing. Three drift sheets are discriminated and bear the names given by Tyrrell to three great fields of outflow of the continental glacier: the Keewatin drift, deposited by a vast ice field moving from the northwest over the greater part of this state; the Labradorian drift, spread by a similar ice field flowing from northeastern Canada across the basin of Lake Superior, and the Patrician drift, borne southward by an earlier glacial outflow from a central region of snowfall and deep ice accumulation on the highlands north of Lake Superior and on the area of the new district of Patricia, named in honor of the English princess, on the southwest side of Hudson and James bays.

Minnesota is fortunate in having for this work the service of Mr. Leverett, who, during more than thirty years, has been a specialist of the United States Geological Survey for field work and investigations in surface and glacial geology. Very important also is the aid by Professor Sardeson, former member of the faculty of the University of Minnesota, engaged through many years in researches on the geology and paleontology of the state, and more recently an expert on the drainage and reclamation of its marsh and swamp lands and peat bogs.

Besides the marvelous mines of iron ore along the Vermilion, Mesabi, and Cuyuna ranges, within the northeast part of Minnesota described by this report, its next most noteworthy economic feature consists in its large rocky areas adapted principally for scientific planting and cultivation of forests. But other large tracts are well adapted for agriculture, especially for market gardening to supply vegetables, hardy fruits and berries, and also dairy products, all sure of ready demand in Duluth, St. Paul, and Minneapolis.

The detailed map of this part of the state has contour lines, showing topographic configuration and altitude above the sea, though such lines were not given on the preceding map of northwestern Minnesota. For the south half of the state we may hope

that not only contour lines will be shown, but also the altitudes of many lakes and railway stations, their heights in feet above the sea being printed on the map for convenient reference and comparison. Moreover, a needed detail for this northeastern map remains to be provided, which also was not attempted by the maps of the *Final Report* of the Minnesota Geological Survey: contour lines drawn near together vertically, with intervals of only fifty feet, upon all of Lake and Cook counties. Thus the Sawteeth Mountains, near the lake shore in Cook County between Temperance and Cascade rivers, would be clearly represented, as they are so well seen from all passing steamers or sailing vessels. The map could also show, by insertion of figures, that the shore of Lake Superior, which is the lowest land in Minnesota, is 602 feet above the sea, and that the Misquah hills, near Winchell Lake in the central part of Cook County, the highest points in the state, are about 2,230 feet above the sea.

WARREN UPHAM

Holmes Anniversary Volume: Anthropological Essays Presented to William Henry Holmes in Honor of His Seventieth Birthday, December 1, 1916, by His Friends and Colaborers. (Washington, 1916. vii, 499 p. Portrait, plates, text figures)

This quarto volume of forty-four essays, illustrated by 135 plates as well as by many figures in the text, presents a grand array of observations and studies in themes of great interest to anthropologists, chiefly relating to localities and peoples in the United States, Mexico, and Central America. Two of these papers are reports of special investigations in Minnesota: "Anthropology of the Chippewa" (pages 198–227), by Aleš Hrdlička of the United States National Museum, Washington, and "Ethnic Amalgamation" (pages 228–240), by Professor Albert E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota.

On account of fraudulent acquisition of lands and timber by lumber companies and land speculators from mixed-blood Chippewa (Ojibways) of the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, following the passage by Congress in 1906–07 of acts providing for individual allotments of tribal lands and permitting mixed-

bloods to alienate property, scientific examination of about seven hundred persons claiming to be full-bloods was conducted by Dr. Hrdlička, for determination of their status, with a view of separating those of pure Ojibway lineage from those having intermixture of blood of other tribes and races. Among those deemed to be wholly of Ojibway descent fifty-nine were selected for description of their physiognomy, stature, and cranial characters. The data obtained are here recorded, in part tabularly, and are compared with similar observations of other tribes in the United States and Mexico, and of white Americans. The author's conclusions are in part as follows: "In color, physiognomy, hair, and visible characteristics in general, the full-blood Chippewa of today are completely of the ordinary Indian type, showing no special features. In stature they range from medium to tall, in body development from medium to stocky, the latter predominating. The head is large, predominantly mesocephalic, and of medium height. The face is both long and broad, the supraorbital ridges frequently pronounced, the forehead often more or less sloping, especially among the men, and often low in appearance, particularly among the women. . . . The tribe, though Algonquian in language and supposedly of eastern origin, shows a larger and relatively broader head, as well as a broader face, than most of the Eastern Indians. In these respects it is probably nearer some of the more central and northern Algonquian tribes, and as will be shown in a future study, it also approaches the Sioux fairly close in some respects, though in the latter the stature is still somewhat higher, the face larger, and the vault of the head lower. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that individual variation among the apparently full-blood Chippewa of today was found in all respects to be quite moderate, which indicates that during the history of the tribe there has been no extensive admixture with Indians of different physical types."

These observations and comparative studies well supplement our knowledge of the Ojibway people contained in the publications of the Minnesota Historical Society; in memoirs by Warren and Winchell on their history; by Gilfillan on their habits and customs, their daily life, and their mental and moral develop-

ment; and by Bishop Whipple on their progress in civilization and Christianization. According to the census of 1910 the number of Ojibways in northern Minnesota is 8,234, most of whom are living on the White Earth, Red Lake, Leech Lake, and several smaller reservations.

The paper by Professor Jenks on "Ethnic Amalgamation" presents a statistical survey and studies, carried on from 1909 to 1912, of forty thousand families in Minneapolis, and, in 1915, of four hundred and eighty families in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and ninety-five families in Lake Benton Township, Lincoln County, Minnesota. "We learned whether both husband and wife are so-called pure-bred members of the same ethnic group, as, for instance, Irish, or whether one is, for instance, Norwegian and the other German, or whether the amalgamation process has gone so far that the person does not know his ethnic composition, and as a result calls himself an 'American.' The blanks also show whether husband and wife are foreign-born, or are native American-born, and, if the latter, what generation of American birth the person is. The number of unmarried children in the family was also shown." The following chief conclusion is found: "From these studies in a city of 300,000 population, of 20,000 population, and of a country district, it is evident that ethnic amalgamation, or human hybridization, is a powerful factor in America, that it does affect fecundity—being a process toward the gradual numerical weakening of the groups amalgamating. It is thus an increasing factor in America, affecting fecundity to the greatest extent in those families most completely amalgamated. This view is the opposite of that which holds that amalgamation is a mixing or blending together of diverse ethnic groups into a homogeneous group. This view does not accept the 'melting-pot' theory."

A portrait of Professor Holmes forms the frontispiece of this volume; and at the end is a bibliography of his published writings, 184 items, covering the years from 1875 to 1916, compiled by Ella Leary, librarian of the bureau of American ethnology.

WARREN UPHAM

History of Chippewa and Lac qui Parle Counties, Minnesota; Their People, Industries, and Institutions. L. R. Moyer and O. G. Dale, joint editors. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1916. 605, 821 p. Illustrated)

History of McLeod County, Minnesota. Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, editor-in-chief, assisted by Return I. Holcombe and a large corps of local contributors, editors, and experienced investigators. (Chicago and Winona, H. C. Cooper Jr. and Company, 1917. xix, 862 p. Illustrated)

The general character of the events and conditions treated in these volumes may be indicated briefly by noting a difference, occasioned largely by geographic influences, between the history of the Chippewa-Lac qui Parle country and that of McLeod County. Traversed by the Minnesota River, one of the natural highways of the state, the Chippewa-Lac qui Parle region appeared earlier in the history of advancing civilization, witnessing in the opening years of the nineteenth century the passage of the explorer Long, the operations of the traders Cameron, Renville, and McLeod, and the labors of the missionaries Williamson, Pond, and Riggs. The McLeod country, though lying to the eastward but remote from both the Minnesota and the Mississippi waterways, remained unoccupied until 1855, when groups of the approaching body of home-making settlers began to take possession. The advance of permanent settlement did not reach the western country, however, until the later sixties. McLeod County, then, has an unbroken history covering sixty years of community development; while the history of Chippewa and Lac qui Parle counties is divided into two distinct parts: an earlier, and perhaps more romantic, period, followed by a somewhat shorter period of settlement and of institutional growth.

Fortunately for the quality of the histories of these regions, the volumes were edited and, in part, written by men who were enabled by training or by knowledge of the facts to rise in a measure above the limitations which ordinarily condition the production of the commercial history. The *History of Chippewa and Lac qui Parle Counties* was the joint work of the late

Lycurgus R. Moyer of Montevideo[1] and O. G. Dale of Madison, men long resident and prominent in these communities. Among Mr. Moyer's contributions to the history of Chippewa County are "An Egotistical Chapter," containing biographical and historical information of value, and a poem. The latter, read some years ago at the annual meeting of the Congregational Church at Montevideo, recounts the history of that church at some length and in the half humorous, half serious vein illustrated by the following verses:

Jerry Wood, at that time deacon,
Sold to Horace Griggs a horse,
The horse was lame or else 'twas balky—
The horse trade took its usual course.

When Deacon Wood had left the country,
A church committee sat on him;
What they did the record saith not—
The records here are faint and dim.

The deacon came back well and hearty,
Led again in churchly work;
In loving service to her Master,
His wife was never known to shirk.

An amount of space greater than their value justifies has been devoted to these and similar features, such as the stories of the Lac qui Parle mission, and too little attention has been given to such topics as "The Railroads," in the discussion of which important dates are not supplied.

The treatment of the settlement of the Chippewa-Lac qui Parle region in a more analytical, and therefore more adequate, manner than has hitherto been attempted in Minnesota county histories, is an encouraging feature. As an indication of the varied sources and character of the immigration into this portion of the state, the names and nativity of representative groups of old settlers are given in a chapter entitled "Composite Elements in Population." The predominance of the Norwegian element, together with the grouping of less numerous elements, such as the Swedish and the German, in certain localities, is noted; at the same time a number of the controlling forces in the produc-

[1] Mr. Moyer died at Montevideo, March 13, 1917.

tion of these results are brought out. Elsewhere in the same volume the influence of other factors upon distribution of population is seen in vivid accounts of the decline of the old village of Lac qui Parle from its position as "the center of the commercial, civic and social life of this region" to a "deserted village" of fewer than a dozen houses, when "the railroad came and passed it by" and the county seat was removed to Madison, one of the new railroad towns. More than a mere statement of cold fact, the description is redolent of the spirit of this—from the point of view of historic Lac qui Parle—"indescribably pathetic" occurrence.

That part of the *History of McLeod County* which deals with the period "from prehistoric times until the middle sixties of the nineteenth century" is in large measure the work of the late Major Return I. Holcombe,[2] whose knowledge, especially of the Indians in Minnesota history, and whose habitually painstaking efforts to attain accuracy give to this, his last work, an authenticity in keeping with his reputation. The chapter on "Political History," by S. G. Anderson Sr., is noteworthy as giving some indication of the attitude of McLeod County people toward the Grange and the Populist movements, the free silver propaganda, woman suffrage, and prohibition. The volume contains an unusual amount of documentary and statistical material, such as long extracts from the county commissioners' proceedings and copious figures from United States census reports. The value of this material, though undoubtedly great, would be increased were the gist of the information set forth in the form of a connected narrative or exposition. The work would have been more conveniently handled had the biographical portion, which fills 379 pages of this rather ponderous book, been placed in another volume.

The following passage, taken from the Lac qui Parle history, is applicable to more than one Minnesota community: "It is regrettable that with the gradual passing of the older generation, the Lac qui Parle County Old Settlers Association is being per-

[2] At the time of his death, November 21, 1916, Major Holcombe had nearly finished the portion of the work assigned to him. Others have since edited his manuscripts and added the material necessary to complete his work.

mitted to go into a decline which seems to threaten its usefulness as an organization through which the traditions of another day might be kept alive and a roster of the 'old timers' preserved. Each generation, of course, has its 'old settlers' and should be glad to hand on the traditions and the recollections of the fathers to the succeeding generation that there may be kept alive something of the spirit that animated the pioneers when, behind their plodding ox-teams, they made the long and toilsome journey across the prairie in order to make habitable a wilderness and create a new empire in one of the fairest regions the sun ever shone on."

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK

Old Fort Snelling (*Iowa and War,* no. 1). By MARCUS L. HANSEN. Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, July, 1917. 31 p.)

The fact that the part of Minnesota west of the Mississippi River was included in Iowa Territory from 1838 to 1846 furnishes the excuse, if such be needed, for the publication of an historical sketch of Minnesota's most famous fort as the opening number of a series of pamphlets instituted by the State Historical Society of Iowa. It should be noted, however, that Fort Snelling has been a part of Minnesota ever since the territory was organized, although the contrary might be inferred from the editor's statement that "not until 1849 was it included within Minnesota boundaries."

In accordance with the plan of the series the sketch is distinctly popular in character. It opens with an account of Pike's negotiations for the purchase of the site, but makes no mention of Long's expedition of 1817 which finally determined the location of the post at the mouth of the Minnesota River. The coming of the troops under Colonel Leavenworth and the construction of the fort are then recounted, followed by some references to Mendota and the fur trade and to distinguished visitors. The bulk of the pamphlet, however, is devoted to dramatic incidents in connection with Indian relations and to picturesque aspects of the life of the soldiers in the early days. The sale of the reservation and its recovery by the United States,

the part which the fort played in the Civil and Indian wars, and its later history receive only incidental mention. The last four pages of the pamphlet contain notes dealing largely with additional incidents and phases of the subject, which it would seem might better have been incorporated in the text.

No references to authorities are given, but the author appears to have relied to a considerable extent upon secondary and reminiscent accounts instead of consulting the documentary sources, with the result that a number of errors have crept in. This is particularly true of the account of Pike's negotiations with the Sioux Indians. The customary salutation of a shower of bullets was not occasioned by the arrival of the keel-boat but took place somewhat later, when the Indians came to make arrangements for the council (p. 2). The tract purchased was not "nine miles square," but stretched "from below the confluence of the Mississippi and St. Peters [the Minnesota], up the Mississippi, to include the Falls of St. Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river" (p. 3). Another tract "nine miles square at the mouth of the St. Croix" was included in the cession. The "presents valued at two hundred dollars and sixty gallons of liquor" were not designed as payment for the reservations but merely to facilitate the negotiations (p. 3). The treaty provided: "That, in consideration of the above grants, the United States shall pay [*blank*]," and the blank was filled in at two thousand dollars when the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate. The actual payment was made by the distribution of goods by Major Forsyth in 1819. It is only by a stretch of the imagination that the Sibley House can be called "the first capitol of Minnesota" (p. 10).

In spite of these errors the sketch presents an accurate and entertaining picture of "Old Fort Snelling," of special interest at the present time when the fort is again playing a prominent part in the history of the Northwest and of the nation.

S. J. B.

Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634–1699 (Original Narratives of Early American History). Edited by LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, PH. D., of the Research Department of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917. xiv, 382 p.)

The closing volume of the series of *Original Narratives* published under the auspices of the American Historical Association is devoted to accounts of the discovery and exploration of the region of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The French conquest of this territory, whether effected by devoted priests under the direction of various religious orders or by intrepid adventurers encouraged and financed in their undertakings by officials of the French government, furnishes one of the most fascinating chapters of American history. The narratives assembled in the present collection include the reports on the discoveries of Jean Nicolet by Father Vimont, and of Raymbault and Jogues by Father Lalemant, as given in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1642; accounts of the expeditions of Radisson and Groseilliers, Allouez, Dollier and Galinée, Joliet and Marquette, Duluth, and St. Cosme as related by themselves; the travels of Perrot as described by La Potherie, who had access to the explorer's journals; and the "Memoir on La Salle's Discoveries" by Henri de Tonty. The Radisson manuscript was written in English, and the present reprint is from the edition brought out by the Prince Society of Boston. The other narratives were written in French and in every case English translations as well as the French versions are available in print. With two exceptions Dr. Kellogg has used for the present volume what are evidently regarded as the most authoritative English translations without indicating that further critical comparison with the original French version has been made. Falconer's translation of Tonty's *Memoir* as reprinted in volume 1 of the *Illinois Historical Collections* is reproduced "with many textual corrections." The version of the St. Cosme letter used has never been in print. It is a translation made from the original manuscript by Crawford Lindsay, changed in a few minor particulars as a result of a critical comparison with a photostat copy of a transcript of the original belonging to the Chicago His-

torical Society. Both the photostat copy and the Lindsay translation are in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Each narrative is prefaced by an introductory note containing a short sketch of the explorer with a bare outline of his discoveries and explorations, and bibliographical information about the original manuscript and extant published versions and translations of the extract reproduced. Many obscure points in the lives and activities of the subjects of these sketches have yet to be cleared up; and it is a matter of regret that the editor's introductions do not contain references to the sources on which her own conclusions are based, or more extended analyses of the views held by other scholars. The review of Nicolet's journey of 1634, for example, makes no note of the possibility that the explorer may have come up the St. Mary's River as far as the falls; likewise if it can be stated with assurance that Groseilliers arrived in New France in 1637, when in the opinion of several scholars of note he came in 1641 or perhaps a year or two later, the source for such assurance should be indicated. Some of the narratives are annotated very fully; others, especially the Radisson manuscript which presents many perplexing problems, are accompanied by little in the way of comment or elucidation. Information such as that supplied in the note on the battle of Seneff (p. 329 n. 3), or on Louis Joliet (p. 191 n. 1), or on Louis de Buade, Count of Frontenac (p. 227 n. 3) is so easily accessible that one is inclined to question the advisability of assigning to it space which might well have been employed to better advantage.

Students of Minnesota history will be somewhat at a loss to understand why some extracts at least of Hennepin's narrative could not have been included in the volume; and it would seem that space ought to have been found for Perrot's proclamation at Fort St. Antoine on Lake Pepin in 1689, if only to mark the establishment of the first French posts on the upper Mississippi.

Franc M. Potter

The Story of Minnesota. By Grace Emery and Rhoda J. Emery. (St. Paul, 1916. 174 p.)

The increasing attention that is being paid to the study of Minnesota history in the public schools of the state has resulted in the publication of several histories adapted for use as texts. Two of these, Parsons' *The Story of Minnesota* and Pollock's

Our Minnesota, were reviewed in the May number of the BULLETIN. The authors of the present volume have been engaged as teachers in the schools of St. Paul for a number of years and have been actively identified with those who are interested in the history of the state.

The opening chapter of the book presents in compact form the most important data relating to the geography of Minnesota. This is followed by a chapter devoted to an account of the two principal Indian tribes that inhabited the region when it was visited first by white men, the Sioux and the Chippewa. The essential facts of the period of exploration and early settlement are treated fully in the three succeeding chapters. The history of Minnesota during the territorial period, including a fairly adequate account of the progress of settlement and of the development of transportation facilities, forms the subject matter of chapter 6. Chapters 7–9 treat of the organization of the state government, the part which Minnesota played in the Civil War, and the Sioux outbreak of 1862. The remainder of the book (chapters 10–19) is concerned with "State Development," and includes accounts of the growth of the agricultural, stock-raising, milling, lumbering, mining, and quarrying industries, a discussion of the state's educational facilities and of its penal, correctional, and charitable institutions, and a review of recent important legislation.

The book is written in a simple and direct style, but is somewhat lacking in those vivid and picturesque qualities which serve to arouse the interest of the younger student. The reader misses in its pages the spirit of romance and adventure of the early period, and he does not come to have an intimate acquaintance with the life of the pioneers or an adequate understanding of the diverse foreign elements which have made their influence felt throughout the history of the state.

The material in the various chapters is well organized and its arrangement is indicated by black-letter side-headings. The development of the narrative is continually interrupted, however, by the interpolation in the body of the text of explanatory, illustrative, or biographical notes, forming separate paragraphs in type of the same size as that of the text, and set off from the material preceding and following by dashes. Notes of this character should either be placed at the foot of the page in smaller

type or be grouped at the end of each chapter or at the close of the book. An undue amount of space has been devoted to detailed accounts of the journeys of Hennepin, Pike, and Long. The practice of introducing into a school text extended extracts from original narratives of exploration is open to criticism.

The value of the book is appreciably impaired by numerous errors. A few instances will serve to illustrate the lack of care which has been exercised in the gathering of material. The Dakotas are not "descendants of the Iroquois," but are members of the Siouan family, a linguistic group distinct from the Iroquois family (p. 9). The best authorities now place Duluth's post not "on the left bank of the Pigeon River" in Minnesota, but on the Kaministiquia River in Canada, near the site of the present Fort William (p. 20). It is incorrect to say that Jonathan Carver "was sent out by England into her new, far western possessions" (p. 28). Carver was born in the province of Connecticut, and his journey of exploration into the Minnesota region was not made under the direction of government officials. The errors which occur in the account of Pike's expedition are more inexcusable in view of the fact that his own narrative has been used as a source. Pike received his orders not from President Jefferson but from General Wilkinson, although it is more than probable that the president had some knowledge of the project (p. 32). The statement on page 35 that Pike on the day following his arrival at St. Peter's (the Minnesota) returned to Kaposia where he met in council three great chiefs with whom he negotiated for a grant of land does not agree with Pike's own account. The council was held on the island at the mouth of the St. Peter's on the second day after his arrival. That the grant of 100,000 acres included "the St. Anthony Falls and the St. Croix River" (p. 36) is a very indefinite way of indicating its extent. The treaty signed, Pike resumed his journey up the Mississippi, embarking at the island, not at Kaposia, as stated on page 37. The American Fur Company was organized under a charter granted by the legislature of New York in 1808, instead of being incorporated under the authority of Congress in 1809; Astor's general manager for many years was Ramsay Crooks, instead of William Crooks; and it was in 1843 rather than 1847 that the business of the American Fur Company in Minnesota was taken over by Pierre Chouteau Jr. and Company of St. Louis (p. 40). Big Stone Lake

is twice referred to as the source of the Minnesota River although the actual source is some twenty-five miles beyond the head of the lake (pp. 45, 47). The expedition sent out in pursuit of Inkpaduta's band in 1857 under the leadership of Little Crow did not bring back the "two women captives"; they had been rescued through the efforts of friendly Indians several weeks before the dispatch of the expedition (p. 105). It is to be regretted that the authors have followed Long in translating the word "Minnesota" as "turbid water" (p. 5). Many scholars prefer the meaning "clouded water," given by the well-known authority on the language of the Dakotas, Stephen R. Riggs, in his *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language*. He translates "sota" as "clear, but not perfectly so; slightly clouded, but not turbid; sky-colored."

There are many evidences that the work of proofreading has been carelessly done. Most of the errors occur in the spelling of proper names. Among the more serious may be noted: "1560" for "1660" (p. 19); "Greyloseson" (p. 20), "Greyloson" (p. 143) for "Greysolon"; "Anguelle" for "Auguelle" (p. 25); "De Sota" for "De Soto" (p. 21); "relinguished" (p. 31); "order" for "ordered" (p. 32); "Shield" for "Shields" (p. 90); "Sandborn" for "Sanborn" (p. 95); "Ft. Sumpter" for "Ft. Sumter" (p. 96); "Niell" for "Neill" (p. 97); "Le Luc" for "Le Duc" (p. 119); and "E. W. Barkus" for "E. W. Backus" (p. 138).

The authors acknowledge in the preface their indebtedness "to the valuable collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, including histories of Minnesota by Folwell, Flandreau, Niell, Folsom, Castle, Upham, Holcombe and Winchell." They do not, however, in the body of the book give specific references to the authorities consulted, except in a few instances where long extracts are quoted. The index is really an analytical table of contents and should have been placed at the beginning rather than at the end of the book. Inasmuch as the page numbers have been omitted it possesses little value. The book contains one outline map of Minnesota, on which a number of the more important cities and a few places of historical interest are indicated. County names and boundaries ought also to have been included. A moderate number of carefully selected illustrations would have added to the attractiveness of the work.

F. M. P.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The executive committee has approved the following statement of the policy of the society with reference to the acceptance of material on deposit:

"Owners of material offered on deposit will be urged to present the material outright, with the understanding that it shall be accessible to them at all times when the department to which it belongs is open. Material will be accepted subject to restrictions as to the use to be made of it, such restrictions to be agreed upon in each case and formulated in writing.

"Material of special value, which can not be secured as the property of the society, and which is in danger of destruction if not deposited with the society, or which, if accepted on deposit, is likely to become ultimately the property of the society, may be so accepted under the following conditions:

1. The society will not assume any responsibility for material so deposited in case of loss or destruction by theft, fire, or otherwise.
2. Material so deposited by an individual shall become the property of the society upon the death of that individual without having reclaimed it. In the case of material deposited by a society or corporation, whenever possible a definite date shall be fixed after which it shall become the property of the Minnesota Historical Society if not previously reclaimed.
3. Owners of material on deposit may be notified at any time that the material must be removed within a specified period, and if not so removed, it shall then become the property of the society.

"These conditions shall not apply to material desired by the society for a special purpose and a limited period, such as for special exhibitions, research work, or the making of transcripts."

The prospects are that the new building for the society will not be completed before December. The bookstack will probably be ready for occupancy before the rest of the building is com-

pleted and it is hoped that the formidable task of moving the library to its new quarters may be begun about November 1. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association having accepted the society's invitation to hold its annual meeting in St. Paul in May, it is probable that arrangements will be made for the dedication of the building at that time.

Very Rev. Humphrey Moynihan and Bernard Snell, both of St. Paul, were enrolled as active members during the quarter ending July 31, 1917. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Dr. Burnside Foster of St. Paul, June 12; Hon. Matthew G. Norton of Winona, July 15; and Rev. William C. Pope of St. Paul, June 7. William Hayes of Winona died on March 27.

Miss Ada Nelson of the Grinnell College Library has been appointed a catalogue assistant on the staff of the society.

Gifts

A rare pamphlet of thirty-two pages containing a realistic narrative of experiences in Andersonville prison has been presented to the society by Mr. B. M. Aslakson of Chicago. It is entitled *Ti Maaneders Fangenskab i Andersonville* and was written by Burns (Björn) Aslakson, the father of the donor, who settled in Carver County in 1855 and in 1862 enlisted as a volunteer in Company H of the Ninth Minnesota Infantry. The donor states that the pamphlet was printed about thirty years ago by the Augsburg Publishing Company of Minneapolis. It contains an introductory note by Professor Sven Oftedal, who was at that time editor of *Folkebladet,* and who was a personal friend of the author and presumably edited the narrative.

Dr. William Watts Folwell has deposited with the society a part of his files of correspondence accumulated during many years of service to the people of the state and expects to turn over additional material from time to time. The "Folwell Papers," as they will be designated, will be a valuable addition to the manuscript collection of the society.

Hon. Charles P. Craig of Duluth, who was chairman of the Minnesota Efficiency and Economy Commission appointed by

Governor Eberhart in October, 1913, has turned over the records of this commission to be preserved by the society as a part of the state archives.

Miss A. S. Millard of St. Paul has given the society a postal card written by the late Bishop Edsall, November 28, 1914, expressing his views on peace and disarmament as follows: "I cordially endorse all efforts tending to foster the desire for ultimate peace and universal disarmament. I believe tho that the present war should be fought to such a finish that militarism should be crushed and discouraged; and that pending agreement for universal disarmament our own country should maintain an efficient navy and army."

Three oil paintings which formerly hung in the Zimmerman photographic studio, St. Paul, have been presented by Mrs. C. A. Zimmerman. The subjects are William K. Gaston, an attorney in St. Paul for forty years; Robert Armstrong Smith, several times mayor of St. Paul; and Willis A. Gorman, second governor of Minnesota Territory. The names of the painters of the first two have not been ascertained. The last is the work of Carl Gutherz, an artist of national reputation, and was made from a photograph in 1883.

From Mrs. N. W. Reay of St. Paul the society has received through the courtesy of the St. Paul Public Library a collection of New York papers published during the Civil War. These files of the *Herald, Times,* and *Evening Post,* while incomplete, contain much material of value to the student of history.

Through the courtesy of Dr. William W. Folwell, Mr. Edward I. Kimball of Minneapolis has presented a collection of interesting letters written by his father, Major W. M. Kimball, in 1863, while he was participating in Sibley's campaign against the Indians.

The society is indebted to Mr. A. A. Pollard of Minneapolis for a file of *Construction Details,* a magazine published in St. Paul during the years 1912–15 in the interests of architects and the building trades. Mr. Pollard also presented a small volume of verse by Mr. George E. Bertrand, a well-known architect of

Minneapolis, entitled *Sonnets to the Ideal* (Minneapolis, 1911. 39 p.).

The Corning-Firestone Advertising Agency has presented portraits of sixteen prominent citizens of St. Paul, each accompanied by brief biographical data. These are advance sheets of a book to be entitled "The Men of St. Paul," which will contain several hundred such pictures.

The society has received from Mrs. W. R. Weide of Madison, South Dakota, several pictures of historical interest. A photograph of Fort Snelling, taken in 1850, and one of the Falls of St. Anthony, taken in 1868, are especially worthy of note.

Mr. D. D. Smith of St. Paul has donated a prospectus of the *American Cyclopedia* containing a valuable list of autograph signatures of early residents of Minnesota.

A lithograph of the city of Winona, dated 1874, has been presented by Hon. George T. Simpson of Minneapolis.

The society receives many new books and pamphlets, especially privately printed ones, as gifts from the authors or publishers. Among the items of this sort that have come in recently are the following: *Rambles about Historic Brooklyn,* from the publisher, the Brooklyn Trust Company; *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church, Iowa City,* from the compiler, Joseph Fuhrmann; *The Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church, Ft. Madison, Iowa,* from the compiler, Rev. A. J. Kaiser; *Albert S. Pease, Selections from His Poems, with an Autobiography and a Genealogy of His Descendants,* from Mrs. Nellie Pease Whiteside; *Additional Baskerville Genealogy,* from the author, P. Hamilton Baskervill; *The Raritan, Notes on a River and a Family,* from the author, John C. Van Dyke; *Genealogy of the Descendants of John Whitmarsh,* from the author, Newton Whitmarsh Bates; and *The Corbett Family,* from the author, Henry R. Corbett. Such gifts are very much appreciated as it is usually difficult to secure privately printed books through the regular book market.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The Michigan Historical Commission has begun the publication of a quarterly entitled the *Michigan History Magazine,* the form of which is somewhat similar to that of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN. The first issue, dated July, 1917, contains five articles and a section devoted to "Historical News, Notes and Comment." Included in the latter are extensive reports on the organization and activities of county and other local historical societies and on the historical work of local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. From one of the news items it appears that the legislature has appropriated eight hundred thousand dollars for the erection of a state building in which space will be provided for the offices and files of the commission, including the state archives, and for a pioneer museum.

All students of western history will rejoice at the inauguration of a series of collections devoted to the publication of original documents for the history of Ohio and the Northwest Territory. While the younger states of the Northwest have been publishing their historical records, Ohio has lagged behind. The work of publication in this state has finally been begun, not by the state or by a state-supported society or institution, but by the Marietta Historical Commission, created by the trustees of Marietta College in February, 1916. The series is entitled *Marietta College Historical Collections;* and the first volume, which is also volume 1 of the *Ohio Company Series,* contains *The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company* (1917. cxxxvii, 132 p.). The editor is Professor Archer Butler Hulbert, who contributes a long introduction entitled "The Ohio Company and 'Scioto Right.'" The "Proceedings," which cover the period from the organization of the company in January, 1786, to December, 1789, are supplied with ample annotations. The volume is attractively printed and bound.

The *Sixtieth Annual Yearbook* of the Chicago Historical Society (1916. 242 p.), containing the report for the year ending

October 31, 1916, shows the society to be one of the most active and effective local historical societies in the United States. By means of a special campaign conducted by an expert solicitor on a percentage basis the membership was increased during the year from about two hundred to over nine hundred. As the dues paid by the various classes of members range from ten dollars a year up, this means a considerable increase in income. The society also has invested funds amounting to over $138,000. The account of the activities for the year contains many valuable suggestions for other institutions. Especially significant are the numerous special exhibitions in the museum and the annual course of local history lectures to school children. These lectures, the expense of which is borne by a single member of the society, were attended by 7,800 delegates from the city schools. A better way of interesting a large community in its history and of training its children for citizenship could hardly be devised.

The California Historical Survey Commission, which was established by the state legislature in 1915 for the purpose of locating and making a record of historical material in the state, has issued a *Preliminary Report* (February, 1917. 71 p.). A survey of the county archives is nearly completed and many private collections have been located and inventoried. The results of this work will be published in a report of several volumes. The present pamphlet contains, besides an account of the work of the commission, "An Historical Analysis of the Archives of the County Clerk" and two "Sample Archive Reports." With similar surveys completed in Illinois and under way in Michigan and Minnesota, the advocates of the preservation of the materials for state and local history and especially of local archives have much to encourage them.

The Illinois Centennial Commission has brought out as the introductory volume of its *Publications,* a work entitled *Illinois in 1818,* by Solon J. Buck (Springfield, 1917. 362 p.). The book contains a survey of social, economic, and political conditions and an account of events connected with the admission of the state to the Union. The commission expects to publish a comprehensive five-volume history of the state in the centennial year, 1918.

The Texas State Library has published *Governor's Messages, Coke to Ross (Inclusive), 1874–1891* (1916. 820 p.). The volume inaugurates the *Executive Series* of the *Collections of the Archive & History Department of the Texas State Library.* It is to be hoped that future volumes will be edited more in accordance with the canons of modern historical scholarship.

The paper on "The Military-Indian Frontier 1830–1835," read by Ruth A. Gallaher at the last meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is published in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* Miss Gallaher discusses the location and character of the frontier forts, the organization of the army, and the relations of the troops with the Indians and with the settlers.

The last installment of "Chronology of the American Hierarchy," by Right Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, in the July number of the *Catholic Historical Review,* covers the provinces of Chicago, St. Paul, and Des Moines, and presents in convenient form essential data for the history of Catholicism in the Northwest.

A life of *George Armstrong Custer,* by Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, has been published by Macmillan (New York, 1917. 188 p.). About half the book is devoted to Custer's Indian campaigns.

Sieur du Lhut (Duluth, 1917. 46 p.) is the title of an historical play in four acts by Mrs. Stella Prince Stocker of Duluth. Its action centers around incidents in the career of this most notable figure among the French explorers who ventured into the wilderness about the head of Lake Superior during the seventeenth century. The narrative follows the scanty historical records that are available as closely as the exigencies of dramatic production permit, but the thread of romance that runs through the play is pure fiction. The traditions and customs of the Chippewa Indians, who are so closely connected with the early history of Minnesota, are embodied in the various scenes; and Chippewa melodies, of which the author has been for a number of years an enthusiastic collector, furnish the incidental music. The play was given its first presentation at Duluth on June 22 under the auspices of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. The vivid

and faithful picture which it gives of the period portrayed makes it, however, well worth production in localities other than the one with which the name of its central figure is identified.

Dr. George Bryce contributes to the June issue of the *Canadian Magazine* a biographical sketch of "Alexander Ross" based upon his journals and letters and upon the author's personal acquaintance with the Ross family. To the student of the fur trade Ross is of interest in that he accompanied Astor to the Columbia River region and was subsequently employed by the Northwest Company from 1814 to 1825. From that time until his death in 1856 Ross was a prominent figure in the Selkirk settlement.

The *Western Magazine* for May contains a sketch and portrait of "Hon. Hascal Brill, Who Holds the Longest Service Record as Jurist," and an illustrated "Story of Park Square," St. Paul, which includes historical sketches of the wholesale establishments of Noyes Brothers and Cutler, C. Gotzian and Company, the Goodyear Rubber Company (St. Paul branch), the Western Supply Company, Robinson, Straus, and Company, Finch, Van Slyck, and McConville, G. Sommers and Company, and Whaley and Anglim. An article in the June issue entitled "In the Country of the St. Croix," by C. L. Llewellyn, contains historical and descriptive notes on Taylors Falls and vicinity.

Recent numbers of the *Samband* (Minneapolis) contain articles of peculiar interest for the student of the Scandinavian element in Minnesota. In the July issue Mrs. Anna E. Mohn brings to a conclusion "De første aar ved St. Olaf College," begun in April, 1916, in which the writer, who came to Northfield in 1875, tells of the foundation in 1874 of this institution—the first Norwegian coeducational college in the United States—and of its later development. O. S. Johnson of Spring Grove is the author of two valuable contributions: "Lidt nybyggerhistorie fra Spring Grove og omegn," which reaches the twenty-seventh installment in the July number, is an account of the Norwegians who settled in Spring Grove and its vicinity; "Udvandringshistorie fra Ringerikesbygderne," which has been appearing since August, 1916, is a record of emigrants to America from Ringerike, Norway, many of whom settled in Minnesota. In the

May issue the editor of the periodical, A. A. Veblen, in an article entitled "Bygdelagenes Fællesarkiv" discusses the inception, development, and apparent failure—for the present at least—of the plan to erect a building in which to house historical material relating to the Norwegian element. The proposal to erect the structure on the University of Minnesota campus is being opposed by those who favor its location at a Norwegian institution, preferably Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. A happy solution of the problem might be reached by making the Minnesota Historical Society, already in possession of a large Scandinavian collection, the depository of whatever further historical material relating to this element may be available.

A reminiscent article in the May number of *Familiens Magasin* (Minneapolis) by Senator E. E. Lobeck of Alexandria, entitled "Minder fra Guttedagene," includes a few details concerning early religious services in Holmes City, Douglas County. The June number of the same periodical contains under the title "Interessante Skisser fra Pioneertiden en besværlig Bryllupsreise" a description of a wedding journey in March, 1884, from Benson to Lincoln County which throws some light on the progress of settlement and transportation facilities in the southwestern part of the state at that period.

"St. Paul, Red River, and York Factory" is the title of an article by Aubrey Fullerton in the *Bellman* of June 23, which deals with the history of transportation along the route indicated. The article is illustrated with pictures of early Winnipeg, a York boat, a Red River cart, the first locomotive in Manitoba, and the steamer "Anson Northup."

The April number of *Vikværingen* (Minneapolis), the official organ of the Kristianialag, contains biographical sketches of a number of its more important members residing in Minneapolis.

The summer number of *Corning's Quarterly Razoo* contains an historical sketch of "The White Bear Yacht Club," by Leavitt Corning.

Dr. Upham's review of David Thompson's *Narrative of His Explorations in North America* in the November Bulletin is reprinted in the *Red Lake Falls Gazette* of May 17. The June 4

issue of the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* contains a review of Charles C. Willson's account of the Kensington rune stone, which appeared in the February number of the BULLETIN.

About three hundred school children successfully presented an historical pageant in Fairmont, May 16. The history of Fairmont and the immediate vicinity was represented by a series of tableaux and dances arranged in four parts: the first illustrating the period of Indian occupation; the second, the coming of the pioneers; the third, the arrival of a colony from England in the early seventies; and the fourth, the later period of peace and prosperity. One of the most novel of the dances was that symbolizing the grasshopper scourge.

The convening of the Minnesota Conference of the Lutheran Synod on May 8–14 at Center City was an event of historical interest, since the organization of the conference on October 8, 1858, was effected at the same place, known at the time as Chisago Lake. A feature of the session was the service on May 12 commemorating the sixty-third anniversary of the establishment of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Center City, the oldest church of this denomination in the state. Some incidents connected with the first meeting as well as the later history of the conference are given in the May 10 issue of the *Chisago County Press* (Lindstrom) under the title "Chisago Lake the Cradle of the Minnesota Conference." The article is accompanied by pictures of the old church in which the conference met in 1858, and of "Berg's barn and granary," the structure in which the first Lutheran services were held in Center City. The same issue of the *Press* also contains an account of the arrival of the first Swedish immigrants in this locality in 1850 and 1851, in an article entitled "The Chisago Lake Country Sixty-Seven Years Ago and the Chisago Lake of To-Day." A later issue (May 24) prints a letter from Daniel Anderson of Coronado, California, one of the immigrants of 1851, who corrects from his own recollections several misstatements in the article of May 10.

The bronze monument erected in the courthouse square in Stillwater in memory of the soldiers and sailors of Washington County who served in the Civil War was unveiled on April 27,

the fifty-sixth anniversary of the day when the first company of volunteers left Stillwater for the South. The monument is the work of C. Kohlhagen of Boston, and represents the figure of a soldier, gun in hand, making a charge. Attached to the base are bronze tablets on which the names of over nine hundred soldiers and sailors are inscribed. The plan is to add in the future the names of the men from the county who took part in the Spanish-American War and of those who shall serve in the present war.

On July 4 the monument raised in memory of the soldiers of the Civil War by the Sons of Veterans of Paynesville was unveiled. The names of the veterans who are buried in the Paynesville, Zion, Salem, and Hawick cemeteries are enrolled on the shaft.

On June 10 about fifty members of the congregation celebrated at Fort Snelling the eighty-second anniversary of the foundation of what is now the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis. The pastor, Dr. J. T. Bergen, read extracts from the old minute book of the original congregation. "The First Presbyterian church at St. Peter's, Upper Mississippi River country," located at Fort Snelling, was the first Protestant church founded in the region which became Minnesota. A list of the charter members of the congregation is given in the account of the exercises appearing in the *Minneapolis Journal* of June 11.

The early history of the First Presbyterian Church of Redwood Falls appears in the June 27 issue of the *Redwood Gazette* under the title "Fifty Years of Church History," by Luella Turrell. An account of the organization in 1867, lists of early members and of officiating pastors, and other interesting facts, taken from a manuscript note-book containing the church records, are given.

The fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the West Freeborn Norwegian Lutheran Church of Manchester was commemorated by appropriate exercises, July 1. A history of the church from its beginning with brief biographies of the pastors is contributed to the July 11 issue of the *Albert Lea Times-Enterprise* by Rev. J. H. Lunde, the present pastor.

The fortieth anniversary of the organization of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Fergus Falls was celebrated May 25–27. The May 26 issue of the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* contains summaries of the addresses, historical in character, given by several clergymen who have served the church as pastor.

An account of the dedication of the new church of the Bethel Lutheran Congregation of St. Olaf Township, Otter Tail County, including an historical sketch of the congregation from the first meeting in 1869, the names of the early members, and a list of the pastors, appears in the *Fergus Falls Ugeblad* of June 13.

The announcement of the celebration by the German Lutheran St. Petri Congregation of Ellsworth of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of its church building, appearing in the *Hutchinson Leader* of July 13, contains a list of the pastors from 1889 to the present time.

The fiftieth anniversary of the building of the Catholic Church of Leavenworth, the first house of worship to be erected in Brown County, was celebrated on June 20. The *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch* of June 15 contains a history of the church together with some account of the settlement of the town.

The forty-ninth anniversary of the occupation of the White Earth Reservation by the Chippewa was celebrated at White Earth on June 14 by a large gathering of the Indians of the reservation.

The old settlers of Beltrami County held a picnic at Clementson on May 15 to commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of the opening of the Red Lake Indian Reservation lands to settlement.

The second annual picnic of former residents of Fergus Falls living in Minneapolis and St. Paul was held at Minnehaha Falls, June 16. An address on the early history of Otter Tail County, delivered on this occasion by Ole Jorgens of Minneapolis, the first auditor of the county, is published in the June 20 issue of the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal.*

The Read's Landing Association of the Twin Cities held its tenth annual home-coming at Reads, June 30. The president's

address, by Fred A. Bill, on the organization, growth, and work of the association is published in the *Wabasha County Herald* (Wabasha) of July 5.

About one hundred and fifty pioneers and their wives celebrated the fifty-ninth anniversary of the admission of Minnesota to the Union at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association on May 11 at the Old Capitol, St. Paul. The usual entertaining program of addresses was given. The following officers were reëlected: Frank C. Ford of Newport, president; Andrew C. Dunn of Winnebago, first vice president; R. H. Jefferson of Bingham Lake, second vice president; George H. Hazzard of St. Paul, secretary; and John A. Stees of St. Paul, treasurer. The Territorial Pioneers Woman's Club, of which Miss Harriet Godfrey of Minneapolis is president, held its business meeting on the same day.

A joint meeting of the Minnesota Old Settlers' Association and the Minnesota Territorial Pioneers' Association was held on June 1, in the rooms of the latter organization in the Old Capitol, St. Paul. The occasion was notable as being the last official meeting of the Old Settlers. Of the four members surviving out of a total membership of 275, only two were present: John Daubney of Taylors Falls and Captain Edward W. Durant of Charleston, South Carolina, formerly of Stillwater. Two matters which came before the meeting are of general interest: the adoption of a resolution requesting "the State Department of Education to include the History of Minnesota among the required courses of study in the public schools of this state"; and the appointment of a committee to promote patriotic observance of June 1, the anniversary of the organization of Minnesota Territory. The Minnesota Historical Society has been requested to take charge of the records of the Old Settlers' Association, which cover a period of sixty years.

The following old settlers' associations have held annual meetings during the months from April to July: Pennington County Old Settlers' Society at Thief River Falls, April 10; Territorial Pioneers' Association of Freeborn County at Albert Lea, May 11; Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association at the

Godfrey House, Richard Chute Square, Minneapolis, June 1; Stearns County Old Settlers' Association at Sauk Center, June 5; Mapleton and Sterling Old Settlers' Association at Mapleton, June 12; Old Settlers', Soldiers', and Sailors' Association of Fillmore County at Harmony, June 14; Steele County Old Settlers' Association, formerly known as the Havana Old Settlers' Association, at Owatonna, June 14; Old Settlers of Lincoln County at Lake Benton, June 15; Old Settlers of Wright County at Buffalo, June 16; Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association on the John Wicklund farm in Kandiyohi Township, June 19; Old Settlers of Dodge County at Dodge Center, June 19; Martin County Old Settlers' Association at Fairmont, June 20; Northfield Old Settlers' Association at Northfield, June 20; Old Settlers of Clay County at Baker, June 21; Renville County Pioneers' Association at Franklin, June 22 and 23; Otter Tail County Old Settlers' Association at Battle Lake, June 24; Grant County Old Settlers' Association at Barrett, June 25; Territorial Old Settlers' Association of Blue Earth County at Mankato, July 2; Norman County Old Settlers' Association at Ada, July 4; Old Settlers of Roseau County at Roseau, July 22; and Vermilion Range Old Settlers' Association at Ely, July 26 and 27.

An effort was made in the legislature of 1917 to establish an historic trail and highway which should touch as many points connected with the Sioux outbreak of 1862 as possible on a route extending from Traverse des Sioux on the east to Browns Valley on the west. A joint resolution to this effect was passed in the senate on April 12, but failed of consideration in the house. The supporters of the project have not given up, however, and a meeting was held at Redwood Falls on May 26, where a formal organization was effected. Mr. Frank Hopkins of Fairfax was elected president; Mr. A. B. Kaercher of Ortonville, vice president; and Mr. A. R. A. Laudon of Redwood Falls, secretary-treasurer. These officers, together with one representative from each county traversed by the proposed trail, make up the board of directors, which body is to complete the organization of the association and to work out the routing of the trail. An account of the meeting of May 26, which appears in the *Redwood Gazette* of May 30, has been issued in circular form for distribution. An

editorial on "Naming the Trail" in the *New Ulm Review* of June 6, approving a suggestion that the proposed highway be called "Lynd Trail," contains a sketch of James W. Lynd, who was engaged in the fur trade at the Lower Agency and was the first white man killed at that point in the outbreak.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding by printing as a supplement to the May 25 number a facsimile of the first issue of the paper, published on May 25, 1867. The copy photographed was that preserved in the files of the newspaper department of the Minnesota Historical Society. The same issue of the *Tribune* devotes a page to an illustrated article on the history of the paper, while under the general heading "For Half a Century the City's Daily Diary" are grouped brief studies of the changes which have taken place in the industrial, social, educational, and religious life of Minneapolis. Among them may be noted the following: "Flour Mill History," "First Park Given to Minneapolis in 1867," "Chicago in 28 Hours Was Record in 1867," "Society Editor Goes Back into Archives," and "Physicians of Early Times were Pioneers." The publication of this anniversary number led Major Edwin Clark, pioneer editor of Minneapolis, who with W. A. Croffut began the publication of the first daily paper in that city, the *Falls Evening News,* on September 28, 1857, to contribute to the *Tribune* of June 1 a valuable account of the early newspapers of Minneapolis.

An address on the "History of Kandiyohi Townsite," read by Victor E. Lawson at the meeting of the Old Settlers' Association of Kandiyohi County, June 19, is printed in full in the June 27 issue of the *Willmar Tribune,* of which Mr. Lawson is the editor. The first part of the address is devoted to the history of the various attempts made to secure the removal of the state capital from St. Paul to the capital lands in Kandiyohi Township selected in 1858 and 1860 in accordance with a provision of the enabling act. The connection between the capital site question and the explorations and surveys conducted in the Kandiyohi Lakes region in 1856 by the "Whitefield Exploration Association," is brought out. Extracts from the manuscript narrative of Mr. Edwin Whitefield, the artist and publicity agent of the association, describing the district explored, add interest and value to the

address. Mr. Lawson closes with a discussion of the early efforts made by the Kandiyohi Townsite Company to attract permanent settlers.

The completion by the government of the engineering projects by which Minneapolis becomes again the head of navigation on the Mississipppi was marked by the passage of the lighthouse tender "Dandelion" from St. Paul up through the government locks to Minneapolis on July 3. A facsimile of that part of the log on which the names of those aboard were written is reproduced in the *Minneapolis Journal* of July 8. In the list are several men well known in connection with the steamboat traffic of early days. The same issue of the *Journal* contains an illustrated article dealing with certain phases of the history of transportation on the Mississippi. The reminiscences of Captain William H. Leavitt of Minneapolis, a steamboat captain on the river in the eighties, are related in the *Journal* of May 6.

Several articles of interest to the student of transportation on the upper Mississippi have appeared recently in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, in the section devoted to "The Old Boats." The May 26 issue contains a paper on "River Navigation," written in November, 1905, by L. N. Scott of St. Paul, for publication by the St. Paul Commercial Club. Mr. Scott came to St. Paul in 1876 and entered the office of Captain John H. Reaney, general agent of the St. Louis and St. Paul Packet Company; from 1881 to 1885 he was himself agent of the company. During this period the steamboat business was at its height. Mr. Scott's observations, therefore, form a valuable chapter in the history of this industry. In the June 30 issue of the *Post* Fred A. Bill of St. Paul in an account of a trip recently taken by river to St. Louis, describes "important old land marks of early navigation." A list of the first boats through Lake Pepin and at St. Paul from 1844 to 1880 is contributed to the issue of July 21 by Captain J. W. Darrah of Stillwater.

The story of the "White Squaw of Fox Lake Isle," which appears in the June 2 issue of the *Martin County Independent,* may well take a place among the other better known romantic tales and legends which have enriched the literature of the

period of Indian occupation. The story is taken from a manuscript found some forty years ago in the trunk of an elm tree in the vicinity of Elm Creek. The manuscript bears the date 1853 or 1855 and was written by a young man who was apparently a member of a group of civil engineers engaged on a government survey in the Blue Earth River country. The writer tells how he was led to go in search of the "white squaw," describes his journey to "Fox Lake Isle," and sets down as he heard it the white woman's own account of her life.

To substantiate the claim of the Toqua Lakes State Park Commission that the last encounter between the Sioux and the Chippewa in Minnesota took place near these lakes in 1869, the *Graceville Enterprise* of June 15 prints extracts from two letters by Samuel J. Brown of Browns Valley, giving his recollections of the affair. Replying in the *New Ulm Review* of June 27, Richard Pfefferle, whose challenge of the claim of the commission precipitated the dispute, takes the position that the Toqua Lakes affair was too insignificant to be called a battle. The controversy seems to have simmered down to a disagreement as to what constitutes a battle.

Interesting items of early railroad history are contained in an article entitled "Pennington as Brakeman Recalled at Reunion of Railroad Veterans' Club" in the *Minneapolis Journal* of July 8. The article was inspired by a meeting of the Minnesota Central, Iowa and Minnesota, and McGregor Western Railroad Association held recently at Austin. It is accompanied by pictures of the first through train on the Iowa and Minnesota division of the Milwaukee road in 1867, and of E. A. Wright, William Sibley, and S. I. Wing, pioneer railroad men on the division. An account of the Austin meeting and a complete list of men now living who operated trains out of Minneapolis on the Iowa and Minnesota division from 1864 to 1870 is given in the *Austin Weekly Herald* of June 27.

W. J. Whipple of Winona in an article entitled "Pioneer Doctors of Winona" in the *Winona Republican-Herald* of June 30, tells of the establishment in that city in 1872 of a preparatory medical school. The institution was conducted by local physi-

cians, and students completing its course of study were fitted for admission into medical colleges. Biographical sketches of the founders of the school as well as of other members of the medical profession who have lived in Winona are included in the article.

The *Cambridge North Star* of May 31 under the title "Union Army Fight without a General" prints extracts from a diary kept by A. John Carlson while serving as a member of Company H, Ninth Minnesota Infantry from 1862 to 1865. The portion of the diary given relates the experiences of the Ninth Regiment as part of an expedition sent out from Memphis on the thirty-first of May, 1864, against General Forrest, operating in western Tennessee and northern Mississippi, which resulted in a defeat of the Union forces and a retreat to Memphis.

The *Blooming Prairie Times* is commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the town of Blooming Prairie by the publication in its columns of a "History of Blooming Prairie"; the first installment appears in the issue of June 7. An interesting reminiscent narrative entitled "War and Its Horrors," giving the Civil War experiences, both in the field and in southern prisons, of John G. Johnson of Blooming Prairie, a member of the Third Iowa Infantry, begins in the July 19 issue of the same paper.

An account of the organization of the Home Guards Company at Mankato on September 14, 1862, is given in the July 17 issue of the *Mankato Weekly Review* under the title "Two Mankato Home Guards Companies of 1862 and 1917." This company formed part of Colonel Flandrau's command in the defense of the southern frontier during the Sioux outbreak of 1862. The article contains the reminiscences of C. A. Chapman of Mankato, one of the two surviving members of the company.

An interesting letter from Charles S. Emmons of Lakeville, relating his experiences as a member of Company F, Second Minnesota Cavalry, is printed in the July 4 issue of the *Cottonwood County Citizen* (Windom). This company was on patrol duty along the southwestern frontier fron Fort Ridgely to the Iowa line during 1864 and 1865. Mr. Emmons also notes many

changes which fifty-one years have made in the valleys of the Cottonwood and the Des Moines rivers.

That the battle between the Sioux and the Red River Valley Chippewa about the year 1820 at "Sand River" took place on the south bank of the Sand Hill River on his farm near Climax in Polk County, is the belief of Elias Steenerson of Crookston. The evidence in support of this conclusion is given in an article in the *Crookston Weekly Times* of June 2 entitled "Indians Fight Bloody Battle in This County."

An article headed "Nicollet and Hennepin Once Held Only for Residences" in the *Minneapolis Journal* of June 17 contains many interesting items of local history. The early career of the Westminster Presbyterian Church and the attempt of Rev. Robert F. Sample and others to prevent the intrusion of business into the residential district on Fourth Street are the principal subjects covered.

The paper read at the 1916 meeting of the Otter Tail County Old Settlers' Association by the late E. E. Corliss of St. Paul, historian of the association, is published in full in the July 26 issue of the *Battle Lake Review*. The paper is an able presentation of the early history of the Otter Tail region during the period of Indian occupation, and contains descriptions of the battles between the Sioux and the Chippewa at Battle Lake in 1795 and 1819.

What is expected to be the last big log drive on the upper Mississippi River furnished the occasion for an interesting article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of June 21 on the history of the lumber industry in the territory tributary to Minneapolis from its beginnings seventy years ago. This is followed, in the *Journal* of July 8, by an interview with Caleb Dorr, a survivor of the old generation of log drivers, in which some of his pioneer experiences are related.

The *St. Cloud Journal Press* of July 5 prints an interesting narrative by John Hedlund of that city, in which the writer describes at some length the journey of himself and wife, along with other emigrants, from Gothenburg, Sweden, to Minnesota

in 1867. The article contains information on the progress of settlement in the central part of the state at that period as well as an account of economic and agricultural conditions.

A biographical sketch of John McConnell of Keystone, Scott County, contributed to the May 10 issue of the *Belle Plaine Herald* by W. V. Working of Henderson, contains an account of a fortification erected during the Sioux outbreak of 1862 on an island in Clark's Lake in Scott County. The latter part of the sketch is devoted to a brief narrative of the Sully expedition of 1864, in which Mr. McConnell participated as a member of Brackett's Battalion.

The *Preston Times* of April 26 prints two sketches written by high school students, the material for which was obtained by personal interviews with two Civil War veterans. The first sketch is an account of the experiences of William Rappe of Preston during three years' service as a member of Company H, First Minnesota Heavy Artillery; the other is based on the reminiscences of Gerrit Vander Bie of Bristol, a member of Company A, Thirty-second Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* of July 1 describes a celebration said to be held each year on June 14 at White Earth, Minnesota, in commemoration of a treaty of peace between the Sioux and Chippewa Indians. The article contains also information about the geography and resources of the reservation and about the life of the modern Indian, his finances, work, and recreation. Three illustrations accompany the article.

Interesting sidelights on the experiences of immigrants to Minnesota as well as a detailed account of the sinking of the steamer "Julia" in the Minnesota River in 1867 are contained in a communication from George T. Barr in the *Mankato Review* of May 10. Mr. Barr, who was a passenger on the boat when it sank, is now a resident of Ontario, California.

Under the heading "Reflected Glory for Le Sueur" in the *Le Sueur Herald* of May 2 is given an account of the part played by Dr. William W. Mayo in the siege of New Ulm during the Sioux outbreak of 1862. Dr. Mayo, later known as one of the

founders of the Mayo Clinic at Rochester, was at that time just beginning his career as a physician in the new village of Le Sueur.

In an article entitled "The World Does Move" in the May 24 issue of the *Martin County Sentinel* an hour's trip by auto from Fairmont to Winnebago is contrasted with a journey by ox team over the same route fifty-three years ago, giving a vivid picture of the great changes which a half century has made in this section of the state.

Biographic sketches of twenty-six old settlers of Blue Earth County who have died during the last year are included in the memorial address read by Thomas Hughes of Mankato, historian of the Territorial Old Settlers' Association of Blue Earth County, at the annual meeting of the association at Mankato on July 2. The address is printed in full in the July 3 issue of the *Mankato Weekly Review*.

The June 12 issue of the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* (Mapleton) prints in full the memorial address delivered at the annual meeting of the Mapleton and Sterling Old Settlers' Association at Mapleton, June 12, by H. C. Hotaling, editor of the *Enterprise*. The major part of the address consists of biographies of thirty-eight members of the association who have died during the year.

In connection with an account of Memorial Day exercises the *Verndale Sun* of May 31 prints a list of Civil War veterans buried in the Verndale cemetery, giving the company and regiment to which each belonged. A similar list of veterans interred in Evergreen Cemetery, Brainerd, appears in the *Brainerd Journal Press* of June 1.

The *Harmony News* of July 12 contains a short account of a colony of Hollanders who settled in York Township, Fillmore County, in 1856, and of their church organization, now known as the Greenleafton Reformed Church. Included in the article is a list of the forty-one charter members of the church and of the pastors from 1869 to the present time.

Facts and statistics relating to the development of the Minneapolis system of parks and playgrounds are given in the May 6

issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* in a review of the career of Chelsea J. Rockwood, attorney for the park board during the period from 1889 to 1917.

An interesting article entitled "Austin's Early Shows" in the *Austin Weekly Herald* of May 2, the material for which was obtained from license receipts for various forms of entertainments filed in the vaults of the city hall, illustrates the value of such archival material in the preparation of studies of this character.

"Barbering in the Eighties Simple and Cheap" is the title of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of June 6 embodying the reminiscences of Charles Hegener, veteran barber of Minneapolis.

The removal of the monument erected by the state at New Ulm in memory of those who came to its defense in 1862 to a point one half block from its original site furnishes the occasion for a brief account of its erection in 1890 which appears in the *New Ulm Review* of June 20.

A story of the frustration of a plan of Dr. W. H. Ward, an early settler of Todd County, to establish a negro settlement in the vicinity of Lake Osakis about 1870, is to be found in the *Todd County Argus* (Long Prairie) of May 3 under the title "Negro Colony was Planned."

An account of the early settlement of Tordenskjold Township of Otter Tail County by Norwegians and of the building of Fort Juelson during the Indian scare of July, 1876, is given in an article entitled "Recalls Old Times" in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* of May 10. In the July 4 issue of the same paper W. W. Gould of Clitherall describes his journey from Fillmore County to Battle Lake by team in the spring of 1868 and gives some account of the early history of Otter Tail County under the title "Pioneer Days in County."

The *Grygla Eagle* of May 11 contains a brief history of the village of Grygla from the coming of the first settler in 1898 to the present time, with an account of the construction of the system of drainage ditches which made possible the development of this region.

Under the title "Landed in Mankato Sixty Years Ago" Frederick Boegen in the *Mankato Review* of May 22 describes Mankato as it appeared to him on May 15, 1857, when he arrived on the steamer "Favorite."

A description of Winona as it appeared in 1863 and a narration of her experiences during the attack on New Ulm by the Sioux in 1862 are contributed by Mrs. Amelia Kaiser of Winona to the *Winona Independent* of May 20.

Under the title "Half a Century in the County" in the *Litchfield Independent* of May 2 is given an account of the arrival of a small group of settlers in Harvey and Manannah townships, Meeker County, in 1867.

Recollections of early-day history of Mankato by Mrs. Charles Veigel and Mrs. George Albert, who came to the small settlement with their parents in 1857, are related in an article entitled "Arrived in Mankato Just Sixty Years Ago" in the June 5 issue of the *Mankato Weekly Review.*

An article containing incidents in the life of Samuel Carver, who settled in Tenhassen Township, Martin County, in 1860, is contributed to the *Martin County Sentinel* of July 13 by A. N. Fancher of Fairmont.

In the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* of April 4 a pioneer railroad man recalls the days when Stillwater was the headquarters for hundreds of lumberjacks, and describes the changes in the conduct of local railroad business which a score or more years have wrought.

A brief review of the part played by Major Edwin Clark of Minneapolis in the settlement and development of the town of Melrose is contained in an article entitled "Father of Melrose Visits City" in the *Melrose Beacon* of July 5.

In an editorial "Looking Backward" the *Albert Lea Times-Enterprise* of May 16 describes the first religious meeting held in the city, May 10, 1857. This date also marks the arrival of the late Dr. Albert C. Wedge, the first physician to settle in that region.

An account of the first settlers in the vicinity of Twin Valley, Norman County, is given in the *Twin Valley Post* of May 16.

Under the title "Old Crow Wing and Vicinity" the *White Earth Tomahawk* of May 24 prints a description of the present appearance of the ruins of this once prosperous trading post together with an account of some of the early residents.

Interesting impressions and experiences of their "First Days in Long Prairie" are related by several prominent men of that city in the *Todd County Argus* (Long Prairie) of May 17.

H. B. Cummins of Eagle Lake contributes an account of the arrival of his father, John Cummins, and family in Le Ray Township, Blue Earth County, July 16, 1857, to the *Mankato Ledger* of July 18 under the title "Pioneer Resident."

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Sandfærdig Beretning

om

Amerika,

til Oplysning og Nytte for Bonde og Menigmand.

Forfattet af

En Norsk, som kom derover i Juni Maaned 1837.

Christiania.

1838.

OLE RYNNING'S TRUE ACCOUNT OF AMERICA[1]

Introduction

An intensive study of the separate immigrant groups which have streamed into America is of deep significance for an adequate understanding of our national life no less from the sociological than from the historical point of view. In tracing the expansion of population through the Mississippi Valley to the American West, the student must give careful consideration to the part played by immigrants from the Scandinavian countries. Interest in the history of the immigration of this group and in its contributions to American life has taken various forms. The most important of these are efforts in the direction of intensive research and the collection and publication of the materials essential to such research. Source material abounds; yet, owing to the fact that men whose lives have spanned almost the entire period of the main movement of Norwegian immigration are still living, no clear-cut line can be traced between primary and secondary materials. Furthermore, the comparatively recent date of Scandinavian immigration to the United States has resulted in delaying the work of collecting materials relating to the movement. Recently, however, through the work of Flom, Babcock, Evjen, Anderson, Nelson, Norelius, Holand, and others, considerable progress has been made.[2] Editors of newspapers and magazines have proved assiduous in collecting and publishing accounts of pioneers;

[1] Translated and edited, with introduction and notes, by Theodore C. Blegen, instructor in history in the Riverside High School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with some assistance from Miss Franc M. Potter and Miss Solveig Magelssen of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.—*Ed.*

[2] The best bibliography in the field of Scandinavian immigration is found in Kendric C. Babcock, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States,* 183–204 (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences,* vol. 3, no. 3, Urbana, 1914).

and an earnest effort to centralize all available Scandinavian materials has been inaugurated by the Minnesota Historical Society.[3]

The bulk of the Norwegian immigration to this country arrived after 1825. Before that time immigration from Norway was isolated, although it was not inconsiderable even in the seventeenth century.[4] A preliminary trip of investigation was made in 1821 by Kleng Peerson in company with Knud Olson Eide. After three years of experience in America Peerson returned to Norway. Shortly after his arrival the sloop "Restaurationen," with fifty-two persons aboard, sailed from Stavanger, July 4, 1825, thereby beginning the great wave of Norwegian immigration to America. The party settled in Orleans County, New York, where in the next eight or nine years a number of new immigrants from Norway joined them. In 1833 Peerson proceeded to the West in search of a site for a new settlement and, after considerable investigation, selected a section of La Salle County, Illinois. His action led to the migration of many of those who had first settled in New York and resulted in the Fox River settlement. Influenced by the letters of Gjert G. Hovland and the return of Knud A. Slogvig, approximately two hundred immigrants took passage on the "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe" from Stavanger in July, 1836, and went directly to Illinois. In 1837 the "Enigheden" and the "Ægir" sailed with about an equal number of passengers.[5] From then on Norwegian immigration increased rapidly.[6]

[3] *Minnesota History Bulletin,* 1:324 (May, 1916); *Ungdommens Ven* (Minneapolis), 26:443–445 (July 15, 1915); *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis), 36:689–691 (July 19, 1916).

[4] In *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630–1674* (Minneapolis, 1916) John O. Evjen produces evidence to show that at least one hundred and eighty-eight Scandinavians came to New York before 1700, of whom fifty-seven were Norwegians.

[5] For Rynning's account of the early immigration, see *post,* 240–243, 247.

[6] For statistics showing the increasing annual immigration from the Scandinavian countries to the United States from 1840 to 1910, see Babcock, *Scandinavian Element,* 206–209.

The "Ægir" was under the command of Captain Behrens, who had made a voyage to America with freight and returned to Bergen in 1836. While in the harbor of New York he had evidently examined some emigrant ships—German and English—and had informed himself as to proper accommodations for emigrants and also as to American immigration laws. Likewise from two German ministers returning to Germany aboard the "Ægir" he gained some knowledge of the German immigration to Pennsylvania. Upon his arrival at Bergen he learned that a considerable number of Norwegians were planning to emigrate, some of them having already sold their farms preparatory to departure. Perceiving his opportunity, the captain decided to remodel his ship for passenger service, and a contract was drawn up by the terms of which he was to take the party to America in the spring of 1837. Ole Rynning, who was destined to be the leader of this party, and who later, through the publication of his *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika,* became one of the important figures in the history of Norwegian immigration, joined the party at Bergen after the agreement with Captain Behrens had been made and the arrangements on board had been completed. He had read a notice of the proposed voyage in a newspaper, and had been in correspondence with the owner of the boat.[7]

Ole Rynning was born April 4, 1809, in Ringsaker, Norway, the son of Rev. Jens Rynning and his wife, Severine Cathrine Steen. The father was at that time curate in Ringsaker; in 1825 he became minister of the parish of Snaasen, where he remained until his death in 1857, being pastor emeritus in his

[7] Knud Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika; Nogle Optegnelser om de norskes Udvandring til Amerika,* 23–29 (Chicago, 1889). Langeland, an immigrant of 1843, had an interview with Captain Behrens in Bergen and bases a part of what he writes upon his recollection of Behrens' statements. His book, though written many years later, is used as a source for numerous phases of the early immigration. In dates and figures it is unreliable, but in other matters it can generally be depended upon. Langeland states emphatically that Rynning had no part in bringing about the emigration of this group.

later years. Ole's parents desired him to enter the church, and in 1829 he passed the examinations for matriculation at the University of Christiania. Four years later, upon completing his work at the university, he gave up the thought of entering the ministry and returned to Snaasen, where he conducted a private school for advanced students. Langeland declares that the immediate cause of Rynning's emigration was a betrothal which his father looked upon as a *mésalliance.* It seems, furthermore, that his father was of an aristocratic bent of mind, and serious differences in views existed between him and his son, who was thoroughly democratic and sympathized with the peasantry. According to the statement of his nephew, Ole had made a contract to buy a marsh with two small adjoining farms for the sum of four hundred dollars (Norwegian money). As he was unable to raise this amount he decided to seek his fortune in the new world.[8] It is probable that Rynning's case is typical of many in that his decision to emigrate was occasioned by a number of widely different, reënforcing motives.

The "Ægir" with its eighty-four passengers sailed from Bergen on April 7, 1837. In mid-ocean the vessel had a slight collision with the British ship, "Barelto," but though the passengers were frightened, no great damage was done; and the boat arrived at New York on the evening of June 9.[9] Langeland relates some interesting details regarding the voyage.

[8] Bernt J. Muus, *Jens Rynnings Æt,* 2, 8 (1894), and his sketch of Ole Rynning in Rasmus B. Anderson, *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration, 1821–1840,* pp. 203–205 (Madison, 1895). See also Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 26.

[9] The following notice appeared in the *New York Evening Star,* June 10, 1837, p. 2: "Marine Intelligence. Arrived last evening. Norwegian bark Aegir, Behrens, 62 ds fm Bergen, with 2 bls plants and 84 passengers, to order May 8th, lat 39 34, lon 32 18 was run into by Br ship Barelto, fm Madras for London—both vessels received trifling damage." The date of the departure of the "Ægir" is corroborated in Ole K. Nattestad, *Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerica, begyndt den 8de April 1837 og skrevet paa Skibet Hilda samt siden fortsat paa Reisen op igjennem de Forenede Stater i Nordamerica,* 23 (Drammen, Norway,

Not all Norwegians are sailors, popular ideas to the contrary notwithstanding. In this company were peasants who had never seen the sea before; they soon overcame their fear, however. During the first part of the voyage they amused themselves with peasant dances on the deck to the music of a fiddle; but the captain had to put a stop to this as it was too hard on the deck floor. A festival held on board ship is of interest because a poem composed by Rynning was sung on the occasion. His book and this verse are the only known writings from Rynning's hand. It is the oldest piece of poetry written by a Norwegian immigrant in the nineteenth century. In somewhat free translation it may be rendered as follows:

Beyond the surge of the vast salt waves
Deep hid lies Norway's rocky shore.
But longing yearns the sea to brave
For dim oak forests known of yore.
The whistling spruce and glacier's boom
Are harmonies to Norway's son.

Though destiny, as Leif and Björn,
Call northern son to alien West,
Yet will his heart in mem'ry turn
To native mountains loved the best,
As longs the heart of a lone son
To his loved home once more to come.[10]

Influenced by Slogvig and by letters from the Illinois country, the "Ægir" party intended originally to go the settlement

1839). The date is incorrectly given in George T. Flom, *A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States,* 100 (Iowa City, 1909), and in Hjalmar R. Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie,* 50 (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908). With reference to the number of passengers, see also Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 25, and the statement of Mons Aadland as given by Svein Nilsson in his "De skandinaviske Setlementer i Amerika" in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:30. No evidence has been found to support Flom's statement that the passengers numbered eighty-two.

[10] The poem is found in Anderson's reprint of Rynning's book (see *post,* 234, n. 25) and in his *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 206; also in Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 27.

in La Salle County. At New York they took a steamer on the Hudson River to Albany, then went by canal boat from Albany to Buffalo, and from there continued their journey by way of Lake Erie to Detroit.[11] The traveling expenses were greater than they had expected, and one of their number, Nils P. Langeland, having a large family and funds insufficient for continuing the journey, remained at Detroit.[12] Here two interesting and important pioneers of the Norwegian immigration movement joined the group of immigrants. These were the brothers, Ole and Ansten Nattestad, who had reached New York by way of Gothenburg and Fall River, Massachusetts, a few days after the arrival of the "Ægir." In his journal Ole Nattestad gives the following account of the meeting: "On the street I met one of the Norwegians who had sailed from Bergen on the seventh of April preceding. In the course of my conversation with him he said that there were about eighty persons of them, who were going to Chicago, and they had remained here five days without securing passage, but they were to leave in two days."[13] The upshot of the meeting was that the Nattestads joined the party.

The boat to Chicago was greatly crowded, and the immigrants suffered not a little inconvenience. Shortly after landing, they received from Norwegians reports unfavorable to the Fox River region, in which it had been their intention to settle. Many were discouraged, especially the women, and plans were changed. The suggestion of Beaver Creek, about seventy miles south of Chicago in Iroquois County, Illinois, as a site for settlement seems to have come from a couple of Americans,

[11] *Post,* 267.

[12] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 28. For the later career of Langeland, who was the first Norwegian to settle in the state of Michigan, see Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 101, and Aadland's account as given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 30.

[13] Nattestad, *Beskrivelse,* 11–13, 23. Interviews with both Ole and Ansten Nattestad are given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 82–84, 94, 102–104; translated in part in Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 238–253, 207, 216.

possibly land speculators, with whom Rynning talked in Chicago. Rynning at this time was particularly useful because he was able to speak English. Disappointed once, the company decided to proceed cautiously, and therefore delegated four men, whose expenses were to be paid by the party, to act as a committee of investigation. These men, Ole Rynning, Ingebrigt Brudvig, Ole Nattestad, and Niels Veste, walked south of Chicago and, after examining the land under consideration, chose a site at Beaver Creek. Ole Nattestad declared later that he did not approve of the site selected because it was too sandy and swampy. Leaving two of the committee at Beaver Creek to build a log house preparatory to the arrival of the immigrants, Rynning and Brudvig returned to Chicago to acquaint the party with the results of their investigation and to pilot it to the place of settlement.

The land at Beaver Creek was favorably described by Rynning and his companion. Accordingly, oxen and wagons were purchased, and preparations made to leave Chicago. The company was now reduced in numbers to about fifty, some having gone to Fox River with Björn A. Kvelve, and others having dropped out at Rochester. The remainder made their way to Beaver Creek and began at once to prepare for the oncoming winter. Land was selected, and log houses were built in sufficient number to accommodate all.

No other settlers lived in the vicinity, and there was some dissatisfaction because of difficulty in securing supplies. Langeland states that the nearest mill was seventy miles away. For a time considerable grumbling was directed against Rynning and others who were responsible for the location of the site; but when Ole Nattestad returned in the autumn from a short trip he found the colonists in good spirits. Later events proved, however, that a tragic mistake had been made. The ground, which was very low, had been examined in late summer, and, because of the dryness and the overgrowth of grass, the men had been deceived. As soon as spring came and the flat land of the settlement was under water, its truly swampy

character was revealed; and the unfortunate settlers were in sore straits. To make matters worse, the climate was extremely unhealthful, and malarial fever developed among the settlers. Sickness began to claim daily victims, and most of the settlers succumbed, including Ole Rynning. Some of the survivors removed to La Salle County in the spring of the following year, but a few remained. The last to leave was Mons Aadland. In 1840, finding his capital reduced to three dollars, he exchanged his farm for a small herd of cattle and went to Racine County, Wisconsin. In realizing something for his land he was more fortunate than most of his companions. They practically fled from the settlement, and of course could not sell their land. No one cared to buy land in a swampy, malaria-infested region. "Only the empty log houses remained, like silent witnesses to the terrors of the scourge, and afforded a dismal sight to the lonesome wanderer who ventured within these domains."[14]

Rynning's personality left a deep impress upon the minds of those who knew him, and there are not a few testimonies to the inherent nobility and self-sacrificing nature of the man. One of the survivors of the settlement, Ansten Nattestad, is reported to have said of him: "He himself was contented with little, and was remarkably patient under the greatest sufferings. I well remember one time when he came home from a long exploring expedition. Frost had set in during his absence. The ice on the swamps and the crusts of snow cut his boots. He finally reached the colony, but his feet were frozen and lacerated. They presented a terrible sight, and we all thought he would be a cripple for life." In this condition Rynning wrote the manuscript of *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika* in the winter of 1837–38. As soon as he completed a chapter of it,

[14] For accounts of the Beaver Creek settlement, see Nattestad, *Beskrivelse,* 23, 25–27; Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 29–31, 32; Nilsson's reports of interviews with Aadland and the Nattestad brothers in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:30, 84, 95; and Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 245–247.

he would read it aloud to Nattestad and others, to get their opinions. There is something admirable in the picture of Rynning, sick and confined to his bed, writing a description of the conditions and problems of life in the new world for the benefit of those in the old country who were considering seeking homes within its bounds. When he had regained his health, Rynning resumed work among the colonists. But in the fall of 1838 he "was again confined to the sick-bed," according to Nattestad, "and died soon thereafter to the great sorrow of all."[15] A pathetic incident is related which illustrates the deplorable conditions in the settlement at the time of Rynning's death. Only one person in the colony was well at the time. This man is said to have gone "out on the prairie and chopped down an oak and made a sort of coffin of it. His brother helped him to get the dead body into the coffin and then they hauled it out on the prairie and buried it."[16] Thus Ole Rynning, the leader of the "Ægir" group and, through his book, one of the noteworthy figures in the history of Norwegian immigration to America, lies in an unmarked grave.

To the philanthropic and helpful spirit of Rynning there are many testimonies. When the immigrants in Chicago received adverse reports of the Fox River region, they became completely dispirited. They had come from afar; they had ventured much; this region had been their goal; little wonder that their courage was shaken! "But in this critical situation," says Ole Nattestad, "the greatness of Ole Rynning's spirit was revealed in its true light. He stood in the midst of those who were ready for mutiny; he comforted the despairing, counseled with those who were in doubt, and reproved those who were

[15] Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:95; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 208. According to Johan R. Reiersen, Rynning's death was caused by unhealthful work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal. *Veiviser for norske Emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske Stater og Texas,* 151 (Christiania, 1844).

[16] Muus in Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 204. The story was related to Muus by a Mrs. Davidson, at whose house Rynning lived most of the time.

obstinate. He wavered not for an instant, and his coolness, undauntedness, and noble self-sacrifice for the welfare of others calmed the spirits of all. The storm abated, and the dissatisfaction gave place to a unanimous confidence." Ansten Nattestad declares: "All his dealings proclaimed the philanthropist. I have never known any one with such noble principles and such a completely disinterested habit of thought. . . . A great and good idea formed the central point of all his thinking. He hoped to be able to provide the poor, oppressed Norwegian workman a happier home on this side of the sea, and to realize this wish he shunned no sacrifice, endured the greatest exertions, and was patient through misunderstandings, disappointments, and loss. . . . When sickness and suffering visited the colonists, he was always ready to comfort the sorrowing and to aid those in distress so far as it lay in his power. Nothing could shake his belief that America would become a place of refuge for the masses of people in Europe who toiled under the burdens of poverty."[17]

In the spring of 1838 Ansten Nattestad made a trip to Norway to visit friends and relatives, going by way of New Orleans and Liverpool. He took with him "letters from nearly all the earlier Norwegian emigrants" whom he had met, and was thus instrumental in disseminating in Norway much information about America. He carried with him also the manuscript of his brother Ole's *Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerica,* published in Drammen in 1839; and the manuscript of Rynning's *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika,* published in Christiania in 1838.[18] Among the peasants of Norway very little was known at this time of America; consequently there was

[17] Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:84, 95.

[18] An account which Ansten Nattestad has given of circumstances in connection with the printing of Rynning's book is of interest to the student of the causes of early Norwegian emigration. "Dean Kragh in Eidsvold read the proofs, and struck out the chapter about the Norwegian ministers who were accused of intolerance in religious matters and of inactivity in respect to the improvement of the condition of the people in temporal matters and in questions concerning the

great eagerness to get definite information on the problems connected with emigration, especially regarding prospects in the new land. Not a little light is thrown upon the situation by the following statement of Nattestad: "I remained in Numedal throughout the winter and until the following spring. The report of my return spread like wildfire through the land, and an incredible number of people came to me to hear news from America. Many traveled as far as twenty Norwegian miles[19] to talk with me. It was impossible to answer all the letters which came to me containing questions in regard to conditions on the other side of the ocean. In the spring of 1839 about one hundred persons from Numedal stood ready to go with me across the sea. Among these were many farmers and heads of families, all, except the children, able-bodied and persons in their best years. In addition to these there were some from Thelemarken and from Numedal who were unable to go with me as our ship was full. We went directly from Drammen to New York."[20] Rynning's account, together with the presence of Ansten Nattestad and the influence of Ole Nattestad's book, had a considerable effect upon emigration, especially from Numedal, a region in the southern part of Norway between Christiania and Hardanger. The two books, particularly Rynning's, "in which a scholarly and graphic

advancement of education." Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:94. Anderson, in his studies of early Norwegian emigration, has attempted to prove that the chief motive was religious persecution. In commenting upon this omitted chapter he says: "I have mentioned the expunging of the chapter on the clergy from Rynning's book by the Rev. Mr. Kragh to emphasize the fact that Ole Rynning looked upon the early Norwegian emigration to America in the same light as that in which I am constantly presenting it." *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 218. Discussing the same matter, Dr. Babcock says: "While religious repression was a real grievance and afflicted many of the early emigrants, the cases where it was the moving or dominant cause of emigration after 1835 are so few as to be almost negligible. At best, it reënforced and completed a determination based on other motives." *Scandinavian Element,* 39, 40.

[19] A Norwegian mile is equivalent to seven English miles.

[20] Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:94.

account of conditions and prospects in the new world were presented, were quickly spread throughout Norway," writes Anderson, "and from this time on we may regard regular emigration from various parts of Norway as fully established, though emigrant packets do not appear to have begun to ply regularly until after 1840."[21]

Nilsson, relying on information supplied him by Gullik O. Gravdal, an immigrant of 1839, says of Nattestad's return to Norway and of the influence of Rynning's book: "Hardly any other Norwegian publication has been purchased and read with such avidity as this Rynning's *Account of America.* People traveled long distances to hear 'news' from the land of wonders, and many who before were scarcely able to read began in earnest to practice in the 'America-book,' making such progress that they were soon able to spell their way forward and acquire most of the contents. The sensation created by Ansten's return was much the same as that which one might imagine a dead man would create, were he to return to tell of the life beyond the grave. Throughout the winter he was continually surrounded by groups who listened attentively to his stories. Since many came long distances in order to talk with him, the reports of the far west were soon spread over a large part of the country. Ministers and bailiffs, says Gullik Gravdal, tried to frighten us with terrible tales about the dreadful sea monsters, and about man-eating wild animals in the new world; but when Ansten Nattestad had said Yes and Amen to Rynning's *Account,* all fears and doubts were removed."[22]

[21] *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 267. See also Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 103; Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 87; Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 7, 94.

[22] *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 154. Anderson gives a typical example of the influence of Rynning's book. "In the winter of 1839 there was a party at the house of Mr. Gilderhus in Voss [a district in the western part of Norway near Bergen], and one man read aloud out of Ole Rynning's book. All listened attentively. It is said that wherever Ole Rynning's book was read anywhere in Norway, people listened as attentively as if they were in church. Several Vossings resolved to emigrate that year, and in obedience to instructions in Rynning's book all took guns or

The report of Rynning's death and the pathetic end of the Beaver Creek colony probably dampened the ardor of prospective immigrants. Nilsson gives an interesting account by an eyewitness of the effect of Rynning's book and of his death upon the people of his home town. "For a time I believed that half of the population of Snaasen had lost their senses. Nothing else was spoken of than the land which flows with milk and honey. Our minister, Ole Rynning's father, tried to stop the fever. Even from the pulpit he urged the people to be discreet and described the hardships of the voyage and the cruelty of the American savage in most forbidding colors. This was only pouring oil upon the fire. Candidate Ole Rynning was one of those philanthropists for whom no sacrifice is too great if it can only contribute to the happiness of others. He was, in the fullest sense, a friend of the people, the spokesman of the poor and one whose mouth never knew deceit. Thus his character was judged, and his lack of practical sense and his helplessness in respect to the duties of life were overlooked. But then came the news: Ole Rynning is no more. This acted as cold water upon the blood of the people. The report of his death caused sorrow throughout the whole parish, for but few have been so commonly loved as this man. Now the desire to emigrate cooled also, and many of those who formerly had spoken most enthusiastically in favor of emigration now shuddered with fear at the thought of America's unhealthful climate, which, in the best years of his strength and health, had bereaved them of their favorite, 'Han Ola,' who had not an enemy but a multitude of friends, who looked up to him as to a higher being, equipped with all those accomplishments which call forth the high esteem and trust of his fellow citizens."[23] According to Reiersen, Rynning's death caused a temporary cessation of

rifles with them to be prepared for all the wild game they expected to find in America. Thus it will be seen that Rynning's book also found its way to Voss, where it had an important influence on emigration." *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 331.

[23] *Billed-Magazin,* 1:45.

emigration in the years from 1839 to 1841, and not until reports were fuller did the great movement of 1843 begin. A considerable number, however, emigrated in 1839. In explaining the lull during the years 1840 and 1841, Flom suggests that the prospective emigrants, realizing the many serious difficulties connected with emigration, were simply awaiting favorable news from friends and relatives in America. The tragedy at Beaver Creek probably had some effect in creating this spirit of cautiousness. The book was nevertheless distributed in many parts of Norway where no report of the Beaver Creek colonists came; and, as Babcock says, "by its compact information and its intelligent advice, it converted many to the new movement."[24]

Rynning's *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika,* a booklet of thirty-nine pages, is now very rare. A copy which formerly belonged to Rynning's nephew, Rev. B. J. Muus, and is now in the library of the University of Illinois is the only one known to be in existence. Using this copy, Rasmus B. Anderson published a reprint in 1896 with the title *Student Ole Rynnings Amerikabog.*[25] The edition of the reprint was so small that it is now almost as difficult to obtain as the original. Although the work has been used by writers on Norwegian immigration, this is the first complete translation.[26] In making it the trans-

[24] Reiersen, *Veiviser,* 151; Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 152; Babcock, *Scandinavian Element,* 37, 40.

[25] The title page reads "Student Ole Rynnings Amerikabog. Paany udgiven af Rasmus B. Anderson, fhv. Gesandt, Forf. af 'First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration' osv. osv. Madison, Wis. 'Wis. Nordmandens' Bogtrykkeri. 1896." This reprint, a paper-bound pamphlet of fifty-six pages, consists of a preface of two pages, the original text with no annotations, and a one-page appendix containing Rynning's poem. The quality of the paper is poor, and there are occasional typographical errors. The title page on page 5, supposed to be a reprint of the original, differs from it in two particulars: the insertion of the line "Forlagt af Guldberg & Dzwonkowski." below "Christiania," and the substitution of "1839" for "1838" as the date of publication.

[26] The title, preface, chapter headings, and part of chapter seven are translated by Anderson in his *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 208–215. Babcock in his *Scandinavian Element,* 37–39, also translates

lator has used a copy of the reprint in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society, with corrections at some points from the copy of the original in the library of the University of Illinois.[27]

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

[TITLE PAGE]

True Account of America for the Information and Help of Peasant and Commoner. Written by a Norwegian who arrived there in the month of June, 1837. Christiania. 1838.

[VERSO OF TITLE PAGE]

Printed in the office of Guldberg and Dzwonkowski by P. T. Malling.

the preface and chapter headings, and summarizes other portions. Flom in his *Norwegian Immigration,* 86, 103–107, gives a brief outline of the book and translates a few scattered passages.

[27] Other rare books dealing with early Norwegian immigration are Nattestad, *Beskrivelse;* Reiersen, *Veiviser;* Johannes W. C. Dietrichson, *Reise blandt de norske Emigranter i "de forenede nordamerikanske Fristater"* (Stavanger, 1846), and *Billed-Magazin,* a weekly, the first volume of which, published at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1869, contains the series of historical sketches of early Norwegian settlements in America, under the general title "De skandinaviske Setlementer i Amerika," by Professor Svein Nilsson, who gathered his material in personal interviews with Norwegian pioneers. The only known copy of Nattestad's book, found in Numedal, is now in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. A translation of this is to be printed in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1917. Copies of Reiersen's *Veiviser* are in the libraries of the University of Illinois and the Minnesota Historical Society, while the Library of Congress has an original of Dietrichson's *Reise.* Both of these books have been reprinted by Anderson, the former in his newspaper *Amerika* for 1899, a file of which is in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the latter as a separate pamphlet (Madison, 1896), copies of which may be found in the libraries of the University of Illinois and the Minnesota Historical Society. Mr. Albert O. Barton of Madison, Wisconsin, possesses a file of *Billed-Magazin,* which he courteously put at the disposal of the writer. A copy of the first volume is also in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Preface

Dear countrymen—peasants and artisans:

I have now been in America eight months, and in this time have had an opportunity to learn much in regard to which I vainly sought to procure information before I left Norway. I felt at that time how unpleasant it is for those who wish to emigrate to America to be without a trustworthy and fairly detailed account of the country. I learned also how great the ignorance of the people is, and what false and preposterous reports were believed as full truth. It has therefore been my endeavor in this little publication to answer every question that I myself raised, to make clear every point in regard to which I observed that people were in ignorance, and to refute the false reports which have come to my ears, partly before my departure from Norway and partly after my arrival here. I trust, dear reader, that you will not find any point concerning which you desired information overlooked or imperfectly treated.

Ole Rynning

Illinois, February 13, 1838

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5. In what part of the country have the Norwegians settled? What is the most convenient and cheapest way to reach them?

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7. What kind of religion is to be found in America? Is there any kind of order or government in the land, or can every one do as he pleases?
8. What provisions are made for the education of children, and for the care of poor people?
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12. What particular dangers is one likely to encounter on the ocean? Is it true that those who are brought to America are sold as slaves?
13. Guiding advice for those who wish to go to America. How they should hire a ship; how they should exchange their money; what time of the year and what route are the most convenient; what they ought to take with them.

Account of America

1. In what general direction from Norway is America situated, and how far is it away?

America is a very large continent which is situated westward from Norway. It stretches about thirteen hundred [Norwegian] miles from north to south, and consists of two chief divisions which are connected only by a narrow isthmus. That part which lies north of this isthmus is called North America, and that which is situated south of it is called South America. Each of these sections includes many countries which are just as different in name, government, and situation

as Norway and England, or Norway and Spain. Therefore, when emigration to America is being considered, you must ask, "To what part of America, and to what province?" The most important country in all America with respect to population as well as to freedom and happy form of government is the "United States" in North America. Usually, therefore, this country is meant when you hear some one speak of America in an indefinite way. It is to this land your countrymen have emigrated; and it is this land which I shall now describe.

The United States is situated about southwest from Norway. To go there you must sail over an ocean which is about nine hundred Norwegian miles wide. With a favorable wind and on a ship that sails well you can cross in less than a month; but the usual time is nine weeks, sometimes a little more, sometimes less.[28] As a matter of fact the wind is generally from the west, and therefore against you, when you are sailing to America. Depending upon the nature of the weather, you go sometimes north of Scotland, which is the shortest way, and sometimes through the channel between England and France.

Since America lies so far to the west, noon occurs there a little over six hours later than in Norway. The sun—as commonly expressed—passes around the earth in twenty-four hours, a phenomenon experienced every day; hence six hours is one fourth of the time required in passing around. It may therefore be concluded that from Norway to America is one fourth of the entire distance around the earth.

2. How did the country first become known?

It is clearly shown by the old sagas that the Norwegians knew of America before the black death. They called the land Vinland the Good, and found that it had low coasts, which were everywhere overgrown with woods. Nevertheless there

[28] The "Ægir," on which Rynning crossed, made the voyage in sixty-two days. Most of the vessels of the time seem to have required about two months, and not infrequently more than that. A party of which Rev. O. C. Hjort of Chicago was a member spent five months on the sea. Babcock, *Scandinavian Element*, 34. See also *post*, 241, 264 n. †.

were human beings there even at that time; but they were savage, and the Northmen had so little respect for them as to call them "Skrellings."[29] After the black death in 1350 the Norwegians forgot the way to Vinland the Good, and the credit for the discovery of America is now given to Christopher Columbus, who found the way there in 1492. He was at that time in the service of the Spanish; and the Spaniards, therefore, reaped the first benefits of this important discovery.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth over England Englishmen for the first time sailed along the western [*sic*] coast of North America, and Walter Raleigh established the first English colony, which he called Virginia. Gradually several colonies were established by various nations. Some Norwegians also founded a little town in 1624, which they named Bergen, in that part of the country which is now called New Jersey.[30] The English maintained predominance, however, and the country was under their jurisdiction until the fourth of July, 1776, when it separated from England and formed a free government without a king. Since that time it is almost unbelievable how rapidly the country has progressed in wealth and population.

[29] "A disparaging epithet, meaning inferior people, *i.e.*, savages." Julius E. Olson in *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot, 985–1503*, p. 36, n. 3 *(Original Narratives of Early American History*—New York, 1906).

[30] There is no basis of fact for this statement. Probably the origin of the belief that Bergen was a Norwegian colony is the name itself. It has been asserted that Hans Hansen, from Bergen, Norway, who settled in New Amsterdam in 1633, lead a group of Dutch and Norwegians across the Hudson River, and founded Bergen, later Jersey City, New Jersey, and furthermore that Bergen, city as well as county, was named after Hans Hansen Bergen. Holand, *De norske Settlementers Historie*, 25. Evjen has proved that this is not the fact. Bergen, New Jersey, was named after Bergen op Zoom, and was founded after the death of Hans Hansen, who had no property on the west side of the Hudson where Bergen was located. *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York*, 14, n., 57, 280, and "Nordmænd i Amerika i det 17de Aarhundrede" in *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis), February 2, 1910. Langeland, apparently using Rynning as his source, repeats the story of Bergen as a Norwegian colony founded in 1624. *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 9.

In 1821 a person by the name of Kleng Peerson from the county of Stavanger in Norway emigrated to New York in the United States. He made a short visit back to Norway in 1824 and, through his accounts of America, awakened in many the desire to go there.[31] An emigration party consisting of fifty-two persons bought a little sloop for eighteen hundred *speciedaler*[32] and loaded it with iron to go to New York. The skipper and mate themselves took part in this little speculation. They passed through the channel and came into a little outport on the coast of England,[33] where they began to sell whiskey, which is a forbidden article of sale at that place. When they found out what danger they had thereby incurred, they had to make to sea again in greatest haste. Either on account of the ignorance of the skipper or because of head winds, they sailed as far south as the Madeira Islands.[34] There they found a cask of madeira wine floating on the sea, which they hauled into the boat and from which they began to pump and drink. When the whole crew had become tipsy, the ship came drifting into

[31] For varying accounts of the immigration of 1825, see the narrative of Ansten Nattestad as given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 102–104; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 54–131; Babcock, *Scandinavian Element,* 22–29; Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 45–54; Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 10–13; Olaf N. Nelson, "The First Norwegian Immigration, or The Sloop Party of 1825" in *History of the Scandinavians in the United States,* part 1, pp. 125–134P (Nelson ed., 2d edition, 1904); Johannes B. Wist, *Den norske Indvandring til 1850 og Skandinaverne i Amerikas Politik,* 14–17. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the motives and influence of Peerson and the relative importance of religious as compared with economic factors in bringing about this emigration.

[32] According to Flom's valuation of the Norwegian *speciedaler* the purchase price amounted to about thirteen hundred and seventy dollars of American money. *Norwegian Immigration,* 224.

[33] The harbor of Lisett. Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 71.

[34] In the *New York Daily Advertiser,* October 15, 1825, the captain and passengers of the sloop publicly acknowledge their thanks to John H. March, the American consul at Madeira, for his hospitality to the company when they touched at that island, and also to the inhabitants of the island for their kindness. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 72.

the harbor like a plague ship, without command, and without raising its flag. A man on a vessel from Bremen, which was lying in port, shouted to them that they must immediately hoist their flag if they did not wish to be fired upon by the cannons of the fortress, which, indeed, were already being aimed at them. Finally one of the passengers found the flag and had it raised. After this and other dangers they at length reached New York in the summer of 1825. In all, the voyage from Stavanger to America had taken fourteen weeks, which is the longest time I know any Norwegian to have been on the way.[35] Nobody, however, had died on the sea, and all were well when they landed. It created universal surprise in New York that the Norwegians had ventured over the wide sea in so small a vessel, a feat hitherto unheard of.[36] Either through ignorance or misunderstanding the ship had carried more passengers than the American laws permitted, and therefore the skipper and the ship with its cargo were seized by the authorities.[37] Now I can not say with certainty whether the government voluntarily dropped the matter in consideration of the ignorance and child-like conduct of our good countrymen, or whether the Quakers had already at this time interposed for them; all I am sure of is that the skipper was released, and the ship and its cargo were returned to their owners. They lost considerably by the sale of the same, however, which did not bring them more than four hundred dollars. The skipper and the mate settled in New York. Through contributions from the Quakers the others were enabled to go farther up into the

[35] The sloop sailed from Stavanger on July 4 with fifty-two passengers, reached Funchal, Madeira, July 28, and sailed from that port on July 31. When New York was reached, October 9, the party numbered fifty-three, a child having been born during the voyage. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 57–59.

[36] See extracts from contemporary New York newspapers in Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 69–76.

[37] A law of March 2, 1819, allowed only two passengers to each five tons. United States, *Statutes at Large,* 3: 488. The sloop had an excess of twenty.

country. Two Quakers in the company established themselves in Rochester. One of these, Lars Larson by name, lives there still.[38] The others bought land in Murray,[39] five miles northwest of Rochester. They had to give five dollars an acre, but, since they did not have money with which to liquidate the entire amount at once, they made arrangements to pay by installments within ten years. Each one bought about forty acres. The land was thickly overgrown with woods and difficult to clear. Consequently, during the first four or five years conditions were very hard for these people. They often suffered great need, and wished themselves back in Norway; but they saw no possibility of getting there without giving up the last mite of their property, and they would not return as beggars. Well-to-do neighbors assisted them, however, and by their own industry they at last got their land in such condition that they could earn a living from it, and live better than in their old native land. As a result of their letters, more Norwegian peasants were now encouraged to try their fortunes in America; but they went only singly, and commonly took the route by way of Gothenburg, Sweden, where there is often a chance to get passage for America. One of those who went by this route, a man by the name of Gjert Gregoriussen Hovland, wrote several letters to his friends in Norway, which were copied many times and sent about to many districts in the diocese of Bergen.[40] In 1835 one of the first emigrants, a young bachelor

[38] Larson, who was one of the founders of the Society of Friends in Norway, is said to have been the organizer and leader of this first group of immigrants. At his home in Rochester "in the years from 1836 to 1845 he received visits from thousands of Norwegians, who were on their way from Norway to Illinois and Wisconsin. They brought him fresh news from Norway and from him they received valuable information and advice concerning America." Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 45–47, 56, 65–68. See also Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 72.

[39] The original name of the northeast township of Orleans County. Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 78. Rynning's text reads "Morri."

[40] The letters of Hovland were a considerable factor in bringing about the immigration of 1836–37. Many Norwegians have stated that through

named Knud Slagvigen,[41] likewise made a trip back to Norway, and many persons traveled a long way just to talk with him. Thus, America began to be more and more known to peasant and commoner in the dioceses of Bergen and Christiansand. As a result two ships sailed in 1836 with emigrants from Stavanger, and in 1837 one from Bergen and one from Stavanger,[42] in addition to many emigrants who went by way of Gothenburg or Hamburg. By far the greater number of those with whom I have talked so far find themselves well satisfied with their new native land.

3. What in general is the nature of the country, and for what reason do so many people go there, and expect to make a living?

The United States is a very large country, more than twenty times as large as all Norway. The greater part of the land is flat and arable; but, as its extent is so great, there is also a

the reading of them they were led to emigrate to America. Langeland saw a copy of one of them, written in New Jersey in 1835, from which it appeared that Hovland, together with his family, left Norway on June 24, 1831, and came to New York by way of Gothenburg, arriving September 18. Hovland wrote with much enthusiasm of American laws, freedom, and equality, contrasting them with the oppressions of the aristocratic classes in Norway. He advised all those who were able to do so to come to America. Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 16, n. See also Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 74.

[41] The name is usually given as Knud Anderson Slogvig. "Slogvig's return may be said to have started the 'America-fever' in Norway, though it took some years before it reached the central and the eastern parts of the country." Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 63. "There before them at last, was a man who had twice braved all the terrors of thousands of miles of sea and hundreds of miles of far-distant land, who had come straight and safe from that fabulous vast country, with its great broad valleys and prairies, with its strange white men, and stranger red men." Babcock, *Scandinavian Element,* 32. See also Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 17; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 147–149; and the narrative of Ole Nattestad as given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 83.

[42] These were the brigs "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe," with about two hundred immigrants; the "Enigheden" from Stavanger, with ninety-three passengers; and the "Ægir." Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 63, 91, 96; Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 148.

great difference with respect to the mildness of the weather and the fertility of the soil. In the most eastern and northern states the climate and soil are not better than in the southern part of Norway. In the western states, on the contrary, the soil is generally so rich that it produces every kind of grain without the use of manure; and in the southern states even sugar, rice, tobacco, cotton, and many products which require much heat, are grown.

It is a general belief among the common people in Norway that America was well populated a few years ago, and that a plague—almost like the black death—has left the country desolate of people. As a result they are of the opinion that those who emigrate to America will find cultivated farms, houses, clothes, and furniture ready for them, everything in the condition in which it was left by the former owners. This is a false supposition.* When the country was first discovered, this part of America was inhabited only by certain savage nations that lived by hunting. The old inhabitants were pressed back more and more, inasmuch as they would not accustom themselves to a regular life and to industry; but as yet the greater part of the land has not begun to be cultivated and settled by civilized peoples.

4. Is it not to be feared that the land will soon be overpopulated? Is it true that the government is going to prohibit more people from coming?

It has been stated above that the United States in extent is

* I will not deny, however, that far back in time the United States may have been populated by another and more civilized race than the savage Indians who now are commonly regarded as the first inhabitants of the country. I have, in fact, seen old burial mounds here, which resemble the Norwegian barrows; and Americans have told me that by digging in such mounds there have been found both human bones of exceptional size, and various weapons and implements of iron, which give evidence of a higher civilization than that of the Indians. It is also significant that the Indians themselves do not know the origin of these mounds.—Rynning.

more than twenty times as large as Norway, and that the greater part of the country is not yet under cultivation. If, in addition to this, we consider that almost every foot of land in the United States is arable, while the greater part of Norway consists of barren mountains, and that America on account of its southern situation is richer than Norway in products for human subsistence, then we can without exaggeration conclude that the United States could support more than one hundred times as many people as are to be found in all Norway. Now it is no doubt a fact that hundreds of thousands of people flock there yearly from various other lands of Europe, but nevertheless there is no danger that the land will be filled up in the first fifty years. When we were in New York last summer, several thousand immigrants from England, Germany, France, and other countries arrived daily. Many thoughtful men in our company became disheartened thereby, and believed that the whole country was going to become filled at once, but they soon discovered that this fear was unwarranted. Many did, indeed, make their way into the interior with us; but they became more and more scattered, and before we reached Illinois there was not a single one of them in our company.

Before my departure from Norway I heard the rumor that the government in the United States was not going to permit further immigration.[43] This report is false. The American government desires just this, that industrious, active, and moral people emigrate to their land, and therefore has issued no prohibition in this respect. It is true, however, that the government is anxious to prevent immigrants, upon their arrival in this country, from becoming, through begging, a burden to the

[43] This report may have had its source in efforts made in Norway to discourage emigration. Langeland writes of a letter issued by the bishop of Bergen for this purpose, having as its text: "Remain in the land and support thyself honestly." *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 22. On the other hand, the rumor may have originated in connection with the Native American or Know-Nothing movement in the United States. Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem,* 295–297 (New York and London, 1912).

inhabitants of the seaport towns.* As a matter of fact, a large number of those who emigrate to America are poor people who, when they land, have hardly so much left as to be able to buy a meal for themselves and their families. However good the prospects for the poor laborer really are in America, yet it would be too much to expect that, on the very first day he steps upon American soil, he should get work, especially in the seaport towns, where so many thousands who are looking for employment arrive daily. His only recourse, therefore, is to beg. To prevent this, the government requires the payment of a tax from every person who lands in America with the purpose of settlement. With this tax are defrayed the expenses of several poorhouses which have been established for poor immigrants. Those who at once continue their journey farther into the country are required to pay less than those who remain in the seaport, for the former can more easily find work and support themselves. When we landed in New York, the tax there was two and one-half dollars; but there is a rumor that it is going to be raised. At some places the tax is ten dollars.[44]

The immigrants of different nations are not equally well received by the Americans. From Ireland there comes yearly a great rabble, who, because of their tendency to drunkenness, their fighting, and their knavery, make themselves commonly hated. A respectable Irishman hardly dares acknowledge his nationality. The Norwegians in general have thus far a good reputation for their industry, trustworthiness, and the readiness with which the more well-to-do have helped the poor through the country.

*The report seems to have been circulated in Norway that those who emigrated from Stavanger in 1836 have been forced to go about in America and beg in order to raise money enough to get back to Norway. But so far as I have inquired and heard, this is purely a falsehood. I have talked with most of those who came over in 1836, and all seem to have been more or less successful.—Rynning.

[44] The *New York Times* of June 9, 1837, carried the following notice regarding the head tax: "His Honor the Mayor, Mr. Clark, has expressed his determination to consider all persons coming into this port from

5. In what part of the country have the Norwegians settled? What is the most convenient and cheapest way to reach them?

Norwegians are to be found scattered about in many places in the United States. One may meet a few Norwegians in New York, Rochester, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, yet I know of only four or five places where several Norwegians have settled together.[45] The first company of Norwegian immigrants, as I have already said, settled in (1) Murray Town, Orleans County, New York State, in 1825. Only two or three families remain there now; the others have moved farther into the country, where they have settled in (2) La Salle County, Illinois State, by the Fox River, about one and one-half Norwegian miles northeast from the city of Ottawa, and eleven or twelve miles west of Chicago. From sixteen to twenty families of Norwegians live there. The colony was established in 1834.[46] Another settlement is in (3) White County, Indiana State, about ten Norwegian miles south of Lake Michigan, on the Tippecanoe River. There are living in this place as yet only two Norwegians from Drammen, who together own upwards of eleven hundred acres of land; but in the vicinity good land still remains unoccupied.[47] A number of Norwegians from Stavanger settled in (4) Shelby County, Missouri State, in the spring of 1837. I do not know how many families live there.[48] A large number of those who

abroad, as paupers and charge the full amount of tax on them allowed by the law, previous to their landing, viz. $10 per head."

[45] For a list of the Norwegian settlements in 1840, see Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 364–369.

[46] Reiersen wrote in 1844 that this colony had about six hundred inhabitants, largely from the vicinity of Stavanger and Bergen, most of whom had already passed the initial pioneer stage, lived comfortably in good houses, and were in an independent position. *Veiviser,* 152.

[47] Anderson was unable to discover anything further about these two Norwegians. *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 368.

[48] This colony, founded by Peerson and Knud and Jacob Slogvig, did not thrive. "It was too far removed from other settlers, too far from a market; the settlers suffered want and became discouraged. The colony was practically broken up in 1840." Flom, *Norwegian Immigration,* 125.

came over last summer settled in (5) Iroquois County, Illinois State, on the Beaver and Iroquois rivers. This colony now consists of eleven or twelve families.

Usually the Norwegians prefer to seek a place where they can expect to find countrymen; but it is always difficult to get good unoccupied land in the vicinity of those who immigrated one or two years earlier.

6. What is the nature of the land where the Norwegians have settled? What does good land cost? What are the prices of cattle and of provisions? How high are wages?

In the western states, where all the Norwegian immigrants now go, the land is very flat and low. I had imagined that thick woods would cover that part of the land which had not yet begun to be cleared; but I found it quite different. One can go two or three miles over natural meadows, which are overgrown with the most luxuriant grass, without finding a single tree. These natural meadows are called prairies. From earliest spring until latest fall they are covered with the most diverse flowers. Every month they put on a new garb. The most of these plants and species of grass are unknown in Norway, or are found only here and there in the gardens of distinguished people. The prairies are a great boon to the settlers. It costs them nothing to pasture their cattle and to gather fodder for the winter. In less than two days a capable laborer can cut and rake enough fodder for one cow. Still the prairie grass is not considered so good as tame hay of timothy and clover. The soil on the prairies is usually rich, and free from stones and roots. In order to break a field, therefore, only a strong plow and four or five yoke of oxen are needed; with these a man can plough up one or two acres of prairie a day. Without being manured, the soil produces corn, wheat, buckwheat, oats, potatoes, turnips, carrots, melons, and other things, that make up the produce of the land. Corn is considered the most profitable crop, and yields from twelve to twenty-four barrels

an acre. Oats and a large part of the corn are fed only to horses and cattle. As food for people wheat flour is most used. Barley and rye grow well in some places, and thrive; but I have not yet seen any of these grains. Barley, like oats, is used only for fodder. Beer is not to be found, and most of the milk is given to calves and hogs. For breakfast and supper coffee or tea is always served, but at other times only cold water is drunk. According to the price of beer in Chicago, a barrel would cost about twenty dollars.

It costs nothing to keep hogs in this country. They forage for themselves both in winter and summer, though they must be fed enough to prevent them from becoming wild. This often happens, however, so that in many places whole droves of wild swine may be seen, which are hunted just like other wild animals. Since it costs so little to keep swine, it is not infrequent that one man has from fifty to a hundred. For that reason, also, pork is eaten at almost every meal.

It is natural that a country which is so sparsely populated should have a great abundance of wild animals. The Indians, who were the former inhabitants, lived entirely by hunting. If a settler is furnished with a good rifle and knows how to use it, he does not have to buy meat the first two years.[49] A good rifle costs from fifteen to twenty dollars. The chief wild animals are deer, prairie chickens, turkeys, ducks, and wild geese. Wild bees are also found. The rivers abound with fish and turtles.

Illinois and the other western states are well adapted for fruit culture. Apple trees bear fruit in the fifth or sixth year after they are planted from the seed, and the peach tree as early as the second or third year. It is a good rule to make plans in the very first year for the planting of a fruit garden. Young apple trees cost from three to six cents apiece. Of wild fruit trees I shall name only the dwarfed hazel, which is seldom higher than a man, and the black raspberry, which is found

[49] See *ante*, 232, n. 22.

everywhere in abundance. Illinois lacks sufficient forests for its extensive prairies. The grass on the prairies burns up every year, and thereby hinders the growth of young trees. Prolific woods are found only along the rivers. Most of the timber is oak; though in some places there are also found ash, elm, walnut, linden, poplar, maple, and so forth. The most difficult problem is to find trees enough for fencing material. In many places, therefore, they have begun to inclose their fields with ditches and walls of sod, as well as by planting black locust trees, which grow very rapidly and increase greatly by ground shoots. Norwegian immigrants ought to take with them some seed of the Norwegian birch and fir. For the latter there is plenty of sandy and poor soil in certain places. Indiana and Missouri are better supplied with forests than Illinois.

In many places in these states hard coal and salt springs are to be found. On the border between Illinois and Wisconsin territories there are a great many lead mines which belong to the government. Whatever else is found of minerals belongs solely to the owner of the ground. Illinois is well supplied with good spring water, something which Missouri to some extent lacks.

The summer in Illinois is much warmer than in Norway. On some days the heat in Norway may be just as intense as it ever is in Illinois or Missouri; but in these states the weather is clearer and brighter. It very seldom rains for a whole day until the end of summer; but when it does rain the downpour is violent and usually accompanied by thunder and lightning. The winter lasts from November until the end of March, at which time the ground usually begins to grow green. February is the coldest month. I have heard many Norwegians declare that they have never felt the cold worse in Norway than in America. Nevertheless, the cattle are generally kept out of doors during the whole winter, and the houses of Americans are not much better than a barn in Norway.

The price of government land has hitherto been $1.25 an

acre, whether the land has been of the best kind or of poorer quality. The price is now going to be lowered and the land divided into three classes according to quality, and the prices will be regulated accordingly. Thus, I have heard that for land exclusively of the third class, half a dollar an acre will be asked.[50]

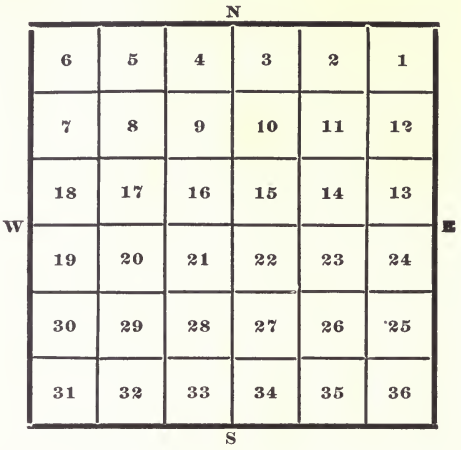
An acre of land measures about one hundred and four ells on each side.[51] Forty acres, which is the smallest portion that can be bought from the government, is six hundred and sixty ells on each side. A tract of eighty acres is thirteen hundred and twenty ells north and south and six hundred and sixty ells east and west. If one buys two eighty-acre tracts side by side, one has one hundred and sixty acres in a square, and hence thirteen hundred and twenty ells on each side. With the smallest tracts the marks that are set by the government must be followed; but one is permitted to buy, for example, two eighty-acre tracts adjoining each other north and south, or even some distance apart from each other. An American mile is two thousand six hundred and forty ells in length. A section is a square which is a mile on each side and which contains eight eighty-acre tracts. A town or a township comprises thirty-six sections which are arranged as shown in the following figure [page 252].

The sixteenth section in each township is always school land and is the common property of the township. When, therefore, a township has attained a certain number of settlers, they

[50] Proposals to graduate the price of public lands had been before Congress since Benton first introduced his bill in 1824. In Benton's plan, changed from time to time in its details, the graduation was based upon the length of time the land had been in the market. Other graduation measures, notably that of Senator Walker of Mississippi, proposed to classify the land according to quality. Up to the time of which Rynning writes no plan had secured the approval of Congress. See Raynor G. Wellington, *The Political and Sectional Influence of the Public Lands, 1828–1842,* pp. 6, 8, 33, 40, 56, 72.

[51] A Norwegian ell is equivalent to two feet.

can determine by a majority vote the manner in which the school land shall be used.[52]



It can be seen from the figure that a township measures six miles on each side. The location of a town or township is determined by two numbers, one indicating range and the other, township. That is, one begins to measure from a point toward north or south, and from another toward east or west. For every sixth mile toward north or south there is a new township, and for every sixth mile east or west, a new range.

Where the land has been surveyed by the government, marks and numbers for range, township, and section are found in the corners of all the sections. When one has found these marks for the piece of land which he wishes to buy, he goes to the land office, states which piece he wishes to have in the section named, pays the price set by the government, and receives without special payment his certificate or deed of conveyance.

[52] Rynning is mistaken in his assertion that the township had authority to decide how the school land should be used. He probably had in mind the provisions of an act regulating the sale of school lands passed by the Illinois legislature, January 22, 1829, and amended by the act of February 15, 1831, whereby on the petition of three fourths of the white male voters of any township containing at least fifty white inhabitants, the school commissioner was authorized to sell section sixteen, the proceeds of such sales to form a part of the township school fund. Illinois, *Laws*, 1829, pp. 170–174; 1831, pp. 172–176.

The deed is very simple, as will be seen by the following copy:

Office of the Receiver, Danville, Illinois
January 6, 1838

No. 7885

Received of Ingbrigt Nielson Bredvig of Iroquois County, Illinois, - - - - - the sum of fifty - - - - - dollars - - - - - as full payment for N. W. h. W. quarter of section number 14 - - - - - - in township number 27 north - - - - - - of range number 13 west - - - - - comprising forty - - - - - - acres at $1.25 - - - - - - an acre.
$50.00

Samuel McRoberts,[53]
Receiver

When land is purchased from a private individual, who has himself bought earlier from the government, the price will be from two to thirty dollars an acre. Many swindlers are engaged in selling land which they do not own, whereby many strangers have been cheated. The surest and cheapest way is to buy from the government and curtly dismiss all speculators who, like beasts of prey, lie in wait for the stranger.

The government offers for sale every year only certain tracts. A person can nevertheless cultivate and settle upon land which has not yet been placed on the market, for such an one has the first right to buy it, when it is put up for sale.[54] A piece

[53] McRoberts was receiver of public moneys at the Danville land office from 1832 to 1839. Rynning, in copying the deed, read the name as Sand. M. Roberts.

[54] Rynning here refers to the privilege allowed settlers under the pre-emption act of May 29, 1830, of securing title to lands occupied by them previous to their being placed on the market, upon giving satisfactory proof of settlement and improvement and upon the payment of the established minimum price of $1.25 an acre. This act, originally passed to be in force for one year only, was continued from year to year with slight modifications until the passage of the permanent preëmption act of 1841. Payson J. Treat, *The National Land System, 1785–1820,* pp. 383–386 (New York, 1910); Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain,* 214 (47 Congress, 2 session, *House Miscellaneous Documents,* no. 45, part 4—serial 2158).

of land acquired in this way is called a claim. To buy a claim is, therefore, to secure the right to buy the land from the government. Hence a claim is not yet one's property. There are many speculators who enrich themselves by taking up claims and then selling their claim rights.

The prices of cattle and of the necessities of life vary most widely. At Beaver Creek a fairly good horse costs from fifty to one hundred dollars; a yoke of good working oxen from fifty to eighty dollars; a lumber wagon from sixty to eighty dollars; a milk cow with calf from sixteen to twenty dollars; a sheep two or three dollars; an average-sized pig from six to ten dollars; pork from six to ten cents a pound; butter from twelve to twenty-four cents a pound; a barrel of the finest wheat flour from eight to ten dollars; a barrel of corn meal from two and one-half to three dollars; a barrel of potatoes one dollar; a pound of coffee twenty cents; a barrel of salt five dollars. In Wisconsin Territory the prices of everything are two or three times higher. Ten Norwegian miles south of us and in Missouri the prices of most things are lower.

Wages are also very different in different places, and correspond closely with the prices of other commodities. In this vicinity a capable workman can earn from one-half to one dollar a day in winter, and almost twice as much in summer. Yearly wages are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars. A servant girl gets from one to two dollars a week, and has no outside work except to milk the cows. In Wisconsin Territory daily wages are from three to five dollars; in New Orleans and Texas wages are also very high, but in Missouri, again, they are lower. At Beaver Creek we can now get men to break prairie for us at two dollars an acre, provided that we furnish board.[55] For fencing ten acres with the

[55] In his journal, dated Beaver Creek, Illinois, February 21, 1838, Ole Nattestad says that he has had work since October 14, and in four months has earned fifty dollars. He also states that he has been offered one hundred and ninety dollars a year, together with board "as good as any official has in Norway"; that a workingman can earn from twelve to six-

simplest kind of fencing we figure on two thousand rails. In an average woods a good workman can split a hundred or a hundred and fifty rails a day. From one-half to one dollar is charged for splitting a hundred rails. Four thousand rails are required to fence in forty acres; and for one hundred and sixty acres eight thousand rails are needed, all figuring being based upon the simplest kind of fence.

7. What kind of religion is to be found in America? Is there any kind of order or government in the land, or can every one do as he pleases?

Among the common people in Norway it was a general belief that pure heathenism prevails in America, or, still worse, that there is no religion. This is not the case. Every one can believe as he wishes, and worship God in the manner which he believes to be right, but he must not persecute any one for holding another faith. The government takes it for granted that a compulsory belief is no belief at all, and that it will be best shown who has religion or who has not if there is complete religious liberty.

The Christian religion is the prevailing one in America; but on account of the self-conceit and opinionativeness of the teachers of religion in minor matters, there are a great many sects, which agree, however, in the main points.[56] Thus, one hears of Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and many others. There are also various sects among the Norwegians, but they do not as yet have ministers and churches. Every man who is somewhat earnest in his belief holds devotional exercises in his own home, or else together with his neighbors.

teen dollars a month in winter, and almost twice as much in summer; and a girl can earn from one to two dollars a week if she has some knowledge of English. *Beskrivelse,* 30, 31. See also *post,* 260.

[56] Nattestad in his *Beskrivelse,* 28, makes a similar statement: "As far as religious sects are concerned, there are many kinds, and I have as yet little knowledge of their teachings; but as far as I understand them, they almost all believe in one true God."

I have already said that the United States has no king. Nevertheless, there is always a man who exercises just about as much authority as a king. This man is chosen for a term of only four years, and is called president. In matters which concern all the United States as a whole, the legislative power is vested in Congress, which is composed of men who are elected by the various states. Each of the separate states has its own government, just as Norway and Sweden have, but their common Congress, their common language and financial system unite them more closely. The number of the states in the Union is at present twenty-seven.

For the comfort of the faint-hearted I can, therefore, declare with truth that in America, as in Norway, there are laws, government, and authorities. But everything is designed to maintain the natural freedom and equality of men. In regard to the former, every one is free to engage in whatever honorable occupation he wishes,[57] and to go wherever he wishes without having to produce a passport, and without being detained by customs officials. Only the real criminal is threatened with punishment by the law.

In writings, the sole purpose of which seems to be to find something in America which can be criticized, I have read that the American is faithless, deceitful, and so forth. I will not deny that such folk are to be found in America, as well as in other places, and that the stranger can never be too careful; but it has been my experience that the American as a general rule is easier to get along with than the Norwegian, more accommodating, more obliging, more reliable in all things. The oldest Norwegian immigrants have assured me of the same thing. Since it is so easy to support oneself in an honorable way, thieving and burglary are almost unknown.

An ugly contrast to this freedom and equality which justly constitute the pride of the Americans is the infamous slave

[57] That there were legislative restrictions in Norway as to the occupations in which a man might engage is seen from Nattestad's account of his experiences as given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:83.

traffic, which is tolerated and still flourishes in the southern states. In these states is found a race of black people, with wooly hair on their heads, who are called negroes, and who are brought here from Africa, which is their native country; these poor beings are bought and sold just as other property, and are driven to work with a whip or scourge like horses or oxen. If a master whips his slave to death or shoots him dead in a rage, he is not looked upon as a murderer. The children born of a negress are slaves from birth, even if their father is a white man. The slave trade is still permitted in Missouri; but it is strictly forbidden and despised in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin Territory. The northern states try in every Congress to get the slave trade abolished in the southern states; but as the latter always oppose these efforts, and appeal to their right to settle their internal affairs themselves, there will in all likelihood come either a separation between the northern and southern states, or else bloody civil disputes.[58]

The taxes in America are very low. I have heard of only two kinds of taxes here; namely, land tax and property tax. No land tax is paid during the first five years after land has been bought from the government. The property tax amounts to half a dollar on every hundred one owns in money or in chattels. Every man over twenty-one years owes the state four days of road work yearly.

In the event of war every man is bound in duty to bear arms for his country. In times of peace there is freedom from military service.

[58] Written in 1838, twenty-three years before the outbreak of the Civil War, this statement is beyond question one of the most significant in Rynning's book. Strong and keen in its analysis of the situation, it must have made a deep impression upon the reader in Norway who was contemplating emigration, and probably had considerable influence in determining the choice of location by immigrants. For a discussion of the attitude of the Scandinavian immigrants toward slavery and the effect of this attitude on their political affiliations, see Babcock, *Scandinavian Element,* 157–160.

8. What provisions are made for the education of children, and for the care of poor people?

It has already been pointed out that the sixteenth section in every township is reserved as school land, and that the inhabitants of the township can themselves determine its use. Public education, indeed, is within the reach of all, just as any other thing; but it by no means follows that there is, therefore, indifference in regard to the education of the children. The American realizes very well what an advantage the educated man has over the ignorant, and he spares nothing in the instruction and education of his children. Nevertheless, I have met some elderly men who could neither read nor write. Two schools have now been started among the Norwegians at Fox River, where the children learn English; but the Norwegian language seems to be destined to die out with the parents. At least, the children do not learn to read Norwegian. At Beaver Creek no school is yet established, but most of the children who are old enough are taken into American homes, where their instruction is usually well cared for.[59]

In this state I have not yet seen a beggar. The able-bodied man is in no danger of poverty or need. By an excellent system of poor relief care is taken of those who are really needy. If a widow is left in straitened circumstances, the children are not taken away from the mother and made parish paupers as in Norway; but generous help is given to the mother for the support of both herself and her children, and for the schooling of the latter.[60]

9. What language is spoken in America? Is it difficult to learn?

Since so many people stream into the United States from the European countries, one must expect to find just as many dif-

[59] See also Reiersen's account of the schools in the Norwegian settlements. *Veiviser,* 153, 155.

[60] Reiersen made an investigation of the economic conditions in the Norwegian settlements, the results of which he summarizes in pages 158–163 of his *Veiviser.*

ferent languages in use. But the English language predominates everywhere. Ignorance of the language is, to be sure, a handicap for Norwegian immigrants. It is felt especially on the trip to the interior of the country, if there is no one in the party who understands English. But by daily association with Americans one will learn enough in two or three months to get along well. Some half-grown children who came over last summer already speak very good English. Before having learned the language fairly well, one must not expect to receive so large daily or yearly wages as the native-born Americans.

10. Is there considerable danger from disease in America? Is there reason to fear wild animals and the Indians?

I shall not conceal the fact that the unaccustomed climate usually causes some kind of sickness among new settlers during the first year. Diarrhoea, or the ague, afflicts almost every one; but if a regular diet is observed, these sicknesses are seldom dangerous, and Nature helps herself best without medicine. The ague seldom returns unless one has attempted to drive it away by quack medical treatment.

There are no dangerous beasts of prey in this part of the country. The prairie wolf is not larger than a fox; but still it is harmful to the extent that it often destroys pigs, lambs, and chickens. Snakes are numerous, but small; and few of them are poisonous.[61] The most poisonous kind is the rattlesnake; but even that is not nearly so venomous as many in Norway believe. I know two instances of persons being bitten by rattlesnakes, and in both cases the patients were cured by simple household remedies. Everywhere that the rattlesnake is to be found, a kind of grass grows which is usually regarded

[61] Among the many rumors concerning America which were circulated in Norway, possibly with the express purpose of checking emigration, was the one that there existed great danger from poisonous snakes. For a typical statement setting forth the perils to be encountered in the new world, among which "poisonous snakes" are especially mentioned, see the narrative of Gullik K. Laugen, an emigrant from Numedal in 1839, as given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 171.

as the best antidote for its bite. One of the earliest Norwegians here has told me that he was once bitten by a rattlesnake, and that he found the application of dry camphor to be the most efficacious remedy for relieving the swelling.

The Indians have now been transported away from this part of the country far to the west. Nowhere in Illinois is there any longer danger from assault by them. Besides, these people are very good-natured, and never begin hostilities when they are not affronted. They never harm the Quakers, whom they call Father Penn's children.[62]

11. For what kind of people is it advisable to emigrate to America, and for whom is it not advisable?—Caution against unreasonable expectations.

From all that I have experienced so far, the industrious Norwegian peasant or mechanic, as well as the good tradesman, can soon earn enough here to provide sufficient means for a livelihood. I have already spoken of the price of government land, and I shall merely add that I know several bachelors who have saved two hundred dollars clear within a year's time by ordinary labor. Blacksmiths are everywhere in demand. A smith who understands his trade can feel assured that his neighbors, in whatever place he settles, will help him build his house and smithy, and will even lend him enough money to furnish himself with bellows and tools. Two dollars or more is charged here for shoeing a horse; a dollar for an iron wedge; a dollar for a hay fork; and so forth. Competent tailors can also command a steady and good income, and likewise the shoemaker; but the latter will have to learn his trade anew, for here the soles of the shoes are pegged instead of being sewed. Turners, carpenters, and wagon-makers can also make a good living from their trades. An itinerant trader

[62] Laugen includes also the "yet more dangerous Indians" in his list. Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 171. Rynning's reference to Quakers is possibly added for the purpose of reassuring the Norwegian members of this sect.

who is quick and of good habits can become a rich man within a short time, but he must not be afraid to undergo hardships and to camp outdoors night after night. Servant girls can easily secure work, and find good places. Women are respected and honored far more than is the case among common people in Norway. So far as I know, only two or three Norwegian girls have been married to Americans, and I do not believe that they have made particularly good matches. But there are many Norwegian bachelors who would prefer to marry Norwegian girls if they could.

Those desiring to emigrate to America should also carefully consider whether they have sufficient means to pay their expenses. I would not advise any one to go who, when he lands upon American soil, does not have at least several dollars in his possession. I believe that young people who have enough to pay their passage from New York to Rochester are in a position to emigrate. That will require about four or five dollars. Those who have large families should have enough left to pay their way directly to Illinois, where land is cheap and where plenty of work can be secured at high wages. Expenses for each adult from Norway to Illinois must be figured at about sixty dollars, in addition to expenses for board across the sea. On Norwegian ships the cost of the passage is just as much for children as for adults. It can be estimated, therefore, that forty-five dollars in all will be spent for children between two and twelve years old, and thirty dollars for children under two years.[63] Those who do not have enough to pay their way can hire out to some one who is in better circumstances, and pledge themselves to work for him, for example, three years for fifty dollars a year. This will be to the mutual advantage of both parties. He who thus proposes

[63] See *post,* 265. According to Flom "the price of passage ranged between 33 and 50 *speciedaler,* that is between $25.00 and $38.00." *Norwegian Immigration,* 223–225. See also Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 25; Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:7, 94, 388.

to pay the traveling expenses of others must see to it that he does not pay out so much as to be embarrassed himself, and that he does not take with him bad or incapable people. An employee who has come to America through such an arrangement ought to compare his pay and prospects here with what he had in Norway, and thereby be induced to fulfill the engagement upon which he has entered, for he is held by no other bond than that of his own integrity.[64]

People whom I do not advise to go to America are (1) drunkards, who will be detested, and will soon perish miserably;[65] (2) those who neither can work nor have sufficient money to carry on a business, for which purpose, however, an individual does not need more than four or five hundred dollars. Of the professional classes doctors and druggists are most likely to find employment; but I do not advise even such persons to go unless they understand at least how to use oxen, or have learned a trade, for example, that of a tailor.

Many go to America with such unreasonable expectations and ideas that they necessarily must find themselves disappointed. The first stumbling block, ignorance of the language, is enough to dishearten many at once. The person who neither can nor will work must never expect that riches and luxurious living will be open to him. No, in America one gets nothing without work; but it is true that by work one can expect some day to achieve better circumstances. Many of the newcomers have been shocked by the wretched huts which are the first dwellings of the settlers; but those good people should consider that when they move into an uncultivated land they can not find houses ready for them. Before the land has been put into such shape that it can support a man, it is hardly wise to put money into costly living-houses.

[64] See *post*, 264.

[65] Nattestad also in his journal tells of warnings against the evils of intemperance which are everywhere preached in America, and of the low esteem in which men who drink to excess are held. *Beskrivelse*, 28.

12. What particular dangers is one likely to encounter on the ocean? Is it true that those who are brought to America are sold as slaves?

Many regard the trip across the ocean as so terribly dangerous that this one apprehension alone is enough to confine them forever to their native country. Of course, solid ground is safer than the sea; but people commonly imagine the dangers to be greater than they are. So far as I know, no ship with Norwegian emigrants for America has yet been wrecked. Even with a good ship, an able captain, and capable, orderly, and careful seamen, the passenger has to trust in the Lord. He can guide you securely across the stormy sea, and He can find you in your safe home, whenever His hour has come!

Two things about the sea voyage are very disagreeable; namely, seasickness and tediousness. I do not think there is any unfailing remedy for seasickness, but it is not a fatal illness. Small children suffer the least from it; women, especially middle-aged wives, often suffer considerably. The only alleviating remedy I know of is a good supply of a variety of food. I have noted particularly that barley gruel flavored with wine is frequently strengthening and helpful. It is well to prepare against tediousness by taking along good books, and something with which to occupy oneself. For this purpose I advise taking along harpoons and other fishing tackle as well.

A silly rumor was believed by many in Norway; namely, that those who wished to emigrate to America were taken to Turkey and sold as slaves.[66] This rumor is absolutely ground-

[66] That such rumors were current is confirmed in accounts by other immigrants, given by Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1:83, 226, 388. Following the receipt of letters from those who had emigrated to America and the distribution throughout Norway of the printed narratives of Rynning, Nattestad, and Reiersen, the fears aroused in the simple-minded peasants by these ridiculous reports were gradually dissipated. By no means all the Norwegian immigrants, however, were worried by these stories of slavery. Gitle Danielson, for example, who came over in 1839, on hearing that there was danger of being taken to the south into slavery, is reported to have said: "Norwegians or Scandinavians in general are

less. It is true, however, that many who have not been able themselves to pay for their passage, have come only in this way: they have sold themselves or their service for a certain number of years to some man here in this country. Many are said thereby to have fallen into bad hands, and to have been treated no better than slaves. No Norwegian, so far as I know, has fallen into such circumstances,* nor is that to be feared if one crosses by Norwegian ships, and with his own countrymen.[67]

13. Guiding advice for those who wish to go to America.

When persons wish to emigrate to America singly, they can not expect to chance upon opportunity for sailing directly from Norway, inasmuch as this country has no commerce with the United States. They must go, therefore, either to Gothenburg,† Sweden, Bremen, Germany, or Havre, France. From all these places there is frequent opportunity to secure passage

* All Norwegians who have been in America for a considerable length of time and who have been respectable and industrious, have fared well. Many have come over by an arrangement whereby other Norwegians have paid for them, but have nevertheless been fully as much their own masters. After a short time they have usually worked out their debt.—Rynning.

† Some bachelors from Numedal went last summer from Gothenburg to Newport, Rhode Island. They spent only thirty-two days in crossing the ocean, and praise their Captain Rönneberg highly.—Rynning.

These immigrants were the Nattestad brothers and their companions, the account of whose voyage is given by Ole Nattestad in his *Beskrivelse,* 11.

not the kind of people of which to make slaves. I have never heard of any Scandinavians ever being slaves to a foreign race. . . . That we, the sons of the brave and hardy Northmen, can be enslaved alive by an open and visible enemy, is incredible! The slave owners do not want us to go down south, for they know we would talk of freedom and justice to the slaves and in time produce a change of opinion." Quoted by John E. Molee in Anderson, *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration,* 311.

[67] For an early example of a wealthy Norwegian paying the passage of many of his poorer countrymen, see Nilsson in *Billed-Magazin,* 1: 388.

to the United States, and the fare is usually less than from Norway. But when several wish to emigrate at the same time, I should rather advise them to go on Norwegian ships and with Norwegian seamen, because they will feel safer. For the same reason it is also best to go with a captain who has previously been in America; for example, Captain Behrens of Bergen, whom I can recommend as an able man, or one of the captains who have conveyed passengers from Stavanger to New York.

When several wish to emigrate together, they must apply to a broker in the nearest seaport, who will help them to bargain for the cheapest fare. They must investigate carefully whether the ship is a good sailing vessel and in good condition. With reference to the bargain it may be remarked that the fare on Norwegian ships has hitherto been thirty dollars, for children as well as adults. From the ports of other countries the fare for adults is generally less, sometimes only twenty dollars; and for children under twelve years either half of that or nothing.

The charter, or the written contract, ought to be as precise and detailed as possible. It ought to be written both in English and Norwegian. I shall name some particular provisions that ought not to be omitted: (a) The captain (or the owners) are to supply wood and water for twelve weeks. The water is to be provided in good casks, so that it will not spoil, and three quarts are to be measured out to each passenger daily. If the water in some casks is spoiled, the good water is to be used up before beginning with the bad, and the captain shall take water for his own use from the same barrel as the passengers. (b) The passengers, indeed, must supply themselves with provisions, but the captain shall see to it that every one takes with him sufficient provisions for twelve weeks. The passengers must also furnish their own light. (c) For the sum agreed upon the captain shall land the passengers at the destination determined upon without any additional

expense to them,* either under the name of landing money, quarantine money, corporation money, gratuities, or the like. (d) The fare is to be paid in advance and a receipt given which is written both in English and Norwegian. If the captain on his own risk takes along any one who has not paid in full the sum agreed upon, then he has no further right to demand more as soon as he has taken the passenger and his baggage aboard. (The last provision is a safeguard against having the captain take aboard any one who, on account of his poverty, will either become a burden to the rest or else be given up to the arbitrariness of the captain.)

I should advise every one who goes to America to exchange his money for silver and gold, and not take a draft. Spanish piasters are worth as much as American dollars, but five French francs are six cents less. In an American dollar there are one hundred cents, and each cent is equivalent to a Norwegian *skilling*. There are twelve pence or twelve and one-half cents in a shilling. In America there are silver coins which are worth one half, one fourth, one eighth, one tenth, one sixteenth, and one twentieth of a dollar. The smallest coin current in Illinois equals six and one-fourth cents. All kinds of silver or gold coins are accepted in America; Norwegian silver coins, indeed, that are less than half a dollar, are disposed of with considerable profit.

The best time to leave Norway is so early in the spring as to be able to reach the place of settlement by midsummer or shortly after that time. In that way something can be raised even the first year; namely, buckwheat, which is planted in the last days of June; turnips, which are planted in the latter part of July; and potatoes. It is very unfortunate to go too late

*This provision is very necessary; for otherwise an unscrupulous captain, under one pretext or another, might demand an additional sum from his passengers and, by virtue of his authority and because of their ignorance and unfamiliarity with the language, might force them to pay it.—Rynning.

in the year to gather fodder for one or two cows, and build a house for the winter.

Hitherto the Norwegian immigrants have always sought passage to New York. From there to Chicago the least expensive way is to go by steamer up the Hudson River to Albany; from Albany to Buffalo by canal boat, which is drawn by horses; from Buffalo by steamer over Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan, to Chicago. From here the route goes by land, either south to Beaver Creek, or west to Fox River. From New York to Buffalo one can get transportation for from three to four dollars with baggage, and from Buffalo to Chicago for from nine to twelve dollars. From Chicago to Beaver Creek drivers from Wabash usually ask one dollar for every hundred pounds. Every contract with the steamboat companies or drivers should be written, and with the greatest particularity, if one does not wish to be cheated. To be on the safe side one should figure that it will take about thirty dollars for every adult from New York to Beaver Creek or Fox River. For children between two and twelve years of age half of that is always paid, and nothing for children under two years or who are still carried in arms. The route mentioned from New York to Beaver Creek I compute to be about two hundred and fifty Norwegian miles.

One of our party who arrived last fall did not take the steamboat from Buffalo any farther than to Toledo on Lake Erie. Here he bought a horse and wagon, and conveyed his luggage to Beaver Creek himself. In this way he and his family traveled to their destination somewhat cheaply, but they were also a good deal longer on the way than those who took the steamboat.

For those who wish to go to Missouri,* unquestionably the quickest and cheapest route is by way of New Orleans. But it

* According to the assurance of Kleng Peerson, who knows the country best, and who from the beginning has been the guide of the Norwegians, Missouri is the state where it is now most advisable for immigrants to go. They must then go first to St. Louis on the Mississippi,

must be noted in this connection (1) that one can seldom go to New Orleans except in ships which are sheathed with copper, and (2) that New Orleans is very unhealthful and insalubrious, except from the beginning of December until April. But this is the worst time of the year to be without houses—which is the usual fate of settlers.

Those who wish to emigrate to America ought to take with them (a) bedclothes, fur, and clothing of wadmol,[68] as well as stamped wadmol; (b) a *baxtehelle,*[69] a spinning wheel, and, if possible, a hand mill, silverware, and some tobacco pipes to sell; (c) tools, if one is a mechanic; (d) some good rifles with percussion locks, partly for personal use, partly for sale. I have already said that in America a good rifle costs from fifteen to twenty dollars.

The provisions for the voyage should include a supply of every kind of food which can be kept a long time without being spoiled; such as pork, dried meat, salted meat, dried herring, smoked herring, dried fish, butter, cheese, primost,[70] milk, beer, flour, peas, cereals, potatoes, rye rusks, coffee, tea, sugar, pots, pans, and kettles. It is best to take along into the interior whatever is not used on the ocean voyage, since no charge is made for carrying provisions on steam and canal boats.

For medicinal purposes one should bring (a) a little brandy, vinegar, and a couple of bottles of wine, as well as raisins and prunes to make soup for the seasick; (b) a cathartic for constipation, which often occurs on the ocean (this medicine should not be used unless badly needed); (c) sulphur powder

from there to Marion City, and from there to "the Norwegian settlement on North River, Shelby County."—Rynning.

Marion City was at this time a small settlement of some three hundred inhabitants, situated on the Mississippi about twelve miles above the site of Hannibal, Missouri. Its unfavorable location on the low bottom lands hindered its development, and it was never incorporated.

[68] A coarse hairy woolen cloth similar to freize.

[69] A round iron plate used by Norwegians in baking *fladbrød* (flatbread).

[70] A cheese made from skim milk.

and ointment for the itch (directions must be secured from the druggist or from a physician as to how to use this medicine); (d) Hoffman's drops and spirits of camphor.

For purposes of cleanliness it is necessary to take (a) linen for change, (b) salt-water soap for washing, and (c) a good fine comb.

Again I must advise every one to provide something with which to employ himself on the voyage, as fishing tackle, thread for knitting fish-nets, and other similar articles.

It is a good thing if the immigrants can have a dependable guide and interpreter on the trip from New York to the interior. For those who wish to leave next spring,* there is a good opportunity to go with Ansten Knudsen Nattestad from Rolloug parish in Numedal, who is now on a trip back to Norway.

* Namely in the spring of 1839.—Rynning.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Studies,* vol. 1). By Frederick Merk. (Madison, the society, 1916. 414 p.)

The trend away from an exclusively political point of view in historical studies has resulted in numerous economic and social histories during the past years. By far the larger portion, however, have been general works, most of them of a textbook character; these, while valuable, need to be supplemented by more detailed studies, which must necessarily limit themselves to a definite period or to a particular region or to both. Of this latter class is the volume at hand.

While the center of the stage is occupied by Wisconsin in war times, there is no arbitrary bound; and in tracing the various lines of economic development, a sufficient leeway is allowed on either side to present a well-rounded view. So, for instance, when lumbering is under consideration, a brief survey of ante-bellum conditions is given; and, as some of the points require an extension of the treatment beyond 1870 to set forth the results of what happened during and immediately after the war, the story continues to a logical stopping-place.

The first eight chapters trace the development of agriculture, lumbering, mining, manufacturing, labor, banking, and trade. Then follow five chapters, the central theme of which is the railroad; the disastrous railroad farm mortgage with its accompanying evils is set forth as a basis for understanding the general attitude of Wisconsin people toward overland transportation in war times. Railroad construction, followed by the inevitable consolidation of numerous short lines, brought in its train the struggle between the carriers with monopolistic tendencies and a people seeking to free themselves from the burdens of excessive rates, corrupting proclivities, and discrimination in service. The "Antimonopoly Revolt" presents an excellent summary of the movement which foreshadowed the period of Granger activity of the seventies, while the "Genesis of Railroad Regulation" outlines

the earlier steps in curbing those instrumentalities which entered so vitally into the daily life of every person in the state. The two remaining chapters discuss the "Commerce of the Upper Mississippi" and "Commerce of the Great Lakes." In the first is brought out the rapid extension of the river traffic during the early sixties, and the even more precipitous decline during the latter half of the decade, when the railroads, at first looked upon as feeders for water transportation, throttled the picturesque life which Mark Twain has immortalized.

The materials used by Mr. Merk are to a large extent found in local newspapers, the details from which have been checked and supplemented by the use of local histories, official and trade reports, and, to a limited degree, of manuscripts. Probably no source material is harder to deal with than these, yet Mr. Merk has woven from them not only an illuminating narrative but a most readable book.

While the work deals primarily with Wisconsin, nevertheless, as the author remarks in his preface, "in all its important aspects her economic life reflected that of the states adjoining her borders. Agriculturally her development found its counterpart in Minnesota and Iowa; her lumber industry repeated that of Michigan and Minnesota; her lead mining was a duplication of what obtained about Galena and Dubuque. . . . Upon the Mississippi, La Crosse occupied a commercial position similar to those of St. Paul and Dunleith. . . . The account . . . therefore, typifies the history of the larger economic unit—the area later known as the Granger Northwest—of which Wisconsin was but a part." Not only, then, does this study of the economic development of Wisconsin throw light upon early conditions in Minnesota, for example, in lumbering, in the labor situation, in trade relations, in railroad expansion, but it serves as a model for similar works which may cover approximately the same period in neighboring commonwealths.

To a considerable measure the book is a pioneer. To be sure E. D. Fite's *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War* deals with many of the same topics for a shorter period over a much greater area, but Fite necessarily paints with a larger brush and has to make his strokes broad and sweeping.

Mr. Merk has demonstrated that there is an almost limitless field for studies similar to his, each of which will bring out those factors which, taken together, will allow a more accurate reading of our national progress. It is to be hoped that many will follow his example, not alone because of the opportunities it suggests, but also on account of its intrinsic merits as a sound study of a difficult subject, carefully arranged, logically developed, and highly interesting in its presentation.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

The Life of James J. Hill. By JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE. In two volumes. (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1917. 498, 459 p. Illustrated)

Those who find their history in the biographies of the great will not look to the lives of presidents and politicians for a record of American development since the Civil War. They will look rather to the lives of those "captains of industry" whose clearness of vision made them leaders in the national task of developing a continent, and despots, benevolent or otherwise, in the modern business world. James J. Hill was one of these makers of modern America. It was no mere coincidence that he and the future Lord Strathcona, each driving a dog team, should meet for the first time on the far western prairies, one hundred and forty miles from the nearest house. Each of them had an imagination, described by Mr. Pyle as "tropical," which gave him an insight into the future of the West. Each had the ability—the genius—to lay foundations for the castles of his dreams. It is a favorite task of biographers to analyze this thing called "genius." Mr. Pyle is not a bad psychologist. He delights to show the ability of his hero to make the facts of the past and present cast light upon the future, to grasp and retain unlimited detail, to work incessantly without breaking, to wait as patiently as he labored for the favorable moment, to be honest, broad-minded, patriotic through it all. But granting that these things for the most part are true, the reader grows a bit weary of their endless repetition, and can but reflect that in another age our author would have been an able contributor to the *Acta Sanctorum.*

The author's fondness for character analysis does not alter the fact that these two volumes are a substantial addition to our knowledge of transportation development in the Northwest, and are distinctly worth while. Mr. Pyle has drawn freely upon the letters and papers of Mr. Hill, and has supplemented this information by means of private conversations with him and with his associates, by careful examination of the numerous court records which have opened so freely the archives of great corporations, by a first-hand acquaintance with newspaper files, and with such an historical background as the professional journalist is wont to acquire. He has traced with painstaking care and accuracy the stages by which the Hill interests grew from an idea into the gigantic system which they now are. His superior sources of information and his industry in using them enable him to shed new light all along the way. In view of the real merit of his work we can afford to bear with him while he argues for the benefit of a past generation that the consolidations of which he treats were not the outgrowth of "some Machiavellian scheme," but the result rather of the "irresistible forces of railway evolution." Admitted. But if these same "irresistible forces" should move on through federal control to ultimate government ownership, we shall hope that Mr. Hill was not correct in predicting as a result "the end of this country as a free and democratic government" (2:280).

It is remarkable in a work upon which obviously so few pains have been spared that there should be no maps to guide the reader through the maze of railway constructions and connections so constantly alluded to. But the facility with which Mr. Pyle handles twentieth-century English does much to overcome this difficulty. It is not easy to thread one's way through "the tangled web" of railway finance, but the author's statements are never obscure. Occasionally his figures of speech are a bit rampant, but they are usually effective; as, for example, when he describes the Hill system as "a giant cornucopia whose body extends from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River, contracts as it stretches west and northwest, and pours its contents through the relatively narrow orifice of Puget Sound and Portland" (2:57). His use of the English method of spelling such words as "favour," "labour," and "honour" contrasts somewhat oddly

with the screaming Americanisms which appear on every page. But he commands attention. Possibly if professional historians would cultivate a more interesting style, their services as authorized biographers would be more in demand. Until such a time it ill becomes them to criticize too freely a work which they will have frequent occasion to use.

JOHN D. HICKS

Fourth Street. By A. J. RUSSELL. (47–49 Fourth Street, Minneapolis, 1917. 127 p.)

It seems safe to predict that in time, when it has become scarce in the market, this little book will be highly prized and sought by collectors. No such work as this has appeared before, at least in Minnesota. It gives the history of a Minneapolis street long sacred to the profession of journalism, from the time when "the mighty river of the geological periods eddied and swirled" there until now, when it is solidly built up with business blocks and its pavements are trodden daily by thousands of busy people.

"Russ," as the author of *Fourth Street* is familiarly known, is the "Long Bow" man of the *Minneapolis Journal.* He was once Bill Nye's double in personal appearance and possessed a far finer and more delicate humor than that of the famous platform mate of James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field. His style is a delightful blending of Lamb, Hood, and Douglas Jerrold. As is the case with the choicest humor, his writings are not wanting in touches of pathos now and then, that mellow yet accentuate the merriment of cap and bells.

Probably no publication except a series of city directories contains the names of so large a number of people well known locally, especially newspaper men, as this little volume. No journalist of any prominence who was ever connected with the Minneapolis press is omitted. The author revives most pleasantly our recollections of James Gray, Martin Williams, Ed. Atterbury, "Fannie" Francis, Ed. Henderson, Abbott Blunt, Stiles Jones, Frank Wing, "Bart," "Larry Ho" Hodgson, Colonel Haskell, Horace Hudson, "Doc" Bowman, Edward A. Bromley, the first regular newspaper staff photographer in the United

States, Adolph Edsten, Smith B. Hall, J. Newton Nind, Joseph T. Mannix, Luther B. Little, Winthrop Chamberlain, W. A. Frisbie, Fred Hunt, Dr. Storrs, and many more.

The book covers in most detail the thirty-two years which have passed since "Russ," just out of Bowdoin College, transferred his *lares* and *penates* to the Flour City and began the newspaper work in which he was destined to outshine all others with his inexhaustible fund of spontaneous humor. There are numerous laughable anecdotes and reminiscences and a pathetic love story of a bachelor—a pioneer and one of the richest men of the city—who was reconciled on his deathbed with his fiancée, from whom he had been estranged for many years. *Fourth Street* is a book that every Minnesotan should read; it will not soon be superseded by one of greater interest.

JOHN TALMAN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The stated meeting of the executive council, October 15, 1917, was open to the public and was attended by about forty members of the society and others. Dr. John D. Hicks, professor of history in Hamline University, read a timely paper on "Raising the Army in 1861," in which he drew largely upon the experience of Minnesota as typical of the North as a whole. The paper will be published in a later issue of the BULLETIN.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending October 31, 1917: Myron D. Taylor of St. Paul; Dr. Thomas S. Roberts of Minneapolis; Clarence L. Atwood of St. Cloud; Wilfred J. Whitefield of Sauk Center; Clarence E. Oakley of Buffalo; Godfrey C. Goodwin of Cambridge; Conrad Peterson of St. Peter; Miss Hannah Greer of Elk River; Rev. John H. Morley of Montevideo; David Peterson of Roseau; and Dr. B. M. Randall of Graceville. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Hon. Elwood S. Corser of Minneapolis, August 30, and General William G. Le Duc of Hastings, October 30.

The death of General Le Duc removes one of the last two survivors of the 123 original members of the society. For years he was a most faithful member of the council, making the trip from Hastings to St. Paul in order to attend its meetings. The society was represented at the funeral by the president, the first vice-president, and the secretary, who acted as honorary pallbearers. It is expected that a biographical sketch of General Le Duc will be published in a later issue of the BULLETIN.

On October 9 the superintendent spoke before the Minnesota Library Association on the subject of "Historical Preparedness." The librarians were urged to collect and preserve everything which may be of value in the future as material for the history of the participation of the community or the state in the Great War. The address will be published in the December issue of

the *Library Notes and News* of the Minnesota Public Library Commission.

Gifts

A large collection of printed and manuscript material has been received from Mrs. Hale, the widow of Major William D. Hale of Minneapolis, who was well known as a Civil War veteran, a former postmaster, a business associate of Hon. William D. Washburn, and, in general, a prominent figure in the commercial, political, religious, and educational life of his city and of the state. The printed material includes over one hundred Minnesota items, in the form of histories, memorials, addresses, pamphlets, atlases, directories, and publications of local institutions and organizations, a considerable portion of which are not duplicated in the library. The manuscript material includes Major Hale's account books and papers as receiver for the American Savings and Loan Association, 1896–1901, and a few records of other business firms, such as W. D. Washburn and Company, the Washburn Mill Company, and the Minneapolis Transfer and Terminal Railway Company. There are also letters received by Major Hale and miscellaneous papers which, from a cursory examination, may be assigned to the period from 1868 to 1894. Of the letters, about two hundred were written by William D. Washburn while in Washington as representative, and later as senator, from Minnesota. Among papers reminiscent of Civil War days is a document labeled "Original Enlistment Agreement of Co. A, 3d Minn. Vol. Infty, 1861."

From Mrs. Harry T. Morris, formerly of St. Paul and now of Detroit, Michigan, the society has received a number of large oil paintings and a collection of old photographs which were left by the late John A. Weide of St. Paul, a relative of Mrs. Morris by marriage. The paintings, which were done by Mr. Weide, represent, separately, some of the more battle-torn and service-worn of the Civil War flags which now repose in the rotunda of the state capitol, as these were in 1895. According to a document which accompanies them, the paintings embody the partial fulfilment of a purpose, apparently originated by Mr. Weide and commended by leading Minnesotans, whereby he was

to portray "in imperishable colors the glorious 'Battle Flags of Minnesota' . . . before rapidly approaching Time shall leave but their dust as a memento of their former lustre." The photographs include two enlargements of old pictures of Fort Snelling and a very large number of excellent pictures of persons. Most of the latter apparently were taken at the studio of Dr. A. Falkenshield of St. Paul and were accumulated by Mr. Weide in the course of his work as an artist and a tinter of photographs. Few of them bear inscriptions, but among those which are labeled or have already been identified are photographs of men prominent in Minnesota history, such as William Morrison, George L. Becker, Charles Scheffer, Joseph A. Wheelock, General H. P. Van Cleve, and A. L. Larpenteur. The collection as a whole belongs to the period of the fifties, sixties, and seventies, and even without identification of persons it is invaluable as illustrative of the photographic art and of the costumes of the period. A photograph of Mr. Weide, taken in 1911, is included in the collection.

What may prove to be one of the most valuable additions to the manuscript collections of the society during the year consists of two boxes and a trunk full of papers donated by Samuel J. Brown of Browns Valley, son of the well-known pioneer, Joseph R. Brown. The boxes have not been opened yet and the material can not possibly be arranged until the society is installed in the new building. From the hasty examination made by the society's field agent while packing the collection, it appears that papers of both father and son are included, among the items noted being a letter-press book of Joseph R. Brown and a census of Indians taken in 1864.

The society has received from Mr. Frederick W. Pearsall of Granite Falls a few pages from the daybook kept by a trader at the Santee Indian Agency, Nebraska, during August and September, 1884. The book is of interest to Minnesotans because several of the names entered are those of Indians connected with the history of the state or their descendants. After the Sioux outbreak of 1862 many of the Indians were taken to the Crow Creek reservation in Dakota, where they lived until 1866, when all the Minnesota Sioux were taken to the Santee agency. Rev.

A. L. Riggs, son of Stephen R. Riggs, the Minnesota missionary, and Antoine J. Campbell, a half-breed scout and interpreter, who was a United States employee for years, also are entered as patrons of the trader's store.

Mrs. E. O. Zimmerman, who last year turned over to the society a stock of about twelve hundred pamphlets on archeological subjects by Alfred J. Hill and T. H. Lewis, which were left in her possession at the death of Mr. Hill, has recently donated another lot of about twenty-four hundred copies of the same pamphlets. This material will be useful in the exchange department of the library. Mrs. Zimmerman at the same time presented eight photographs formerly belonging to Mr. Hill, being pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Archibald McElrath and their small son, Mr. W. W. Rich, Major and Mrs. Howard Stansbury, and Lieutenant Lawrence Taliaferro, all taken during the sixties; also a picture of Mr. Warren Upham taken about 1883.

From the Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission, through the courtesy of Mr. D. F. Jurgenson, engineer, the society has received eight folders of blue prints consisting of "Analyses of construction history and gratuities received by various railroad construction entities" in the state. These analyses will be helpful to students of the history of railroad transportation.

A bundle of manuscripts consisting of poll lists and other election material for the city of St. Paul has been turned over to the society by Mr. George F. Herrold of the department of public works of St. Paul. An especially interesting part of this collection consists of envelopes used for the ballots of voters in the army during the Civil War.

Mrs. Jane M. Black of Minneapolis, widow of Captain Mahlon Black, has presented a number of books and magazines from the library of her husband, and also a sword, a belt, a pistol, and a gun, used by Captain Black in the Civil War. The sword is said to have been captured from a rebel officer, who had presumably taken it from a union officer.

Mr. Rome G. Brown of Minneapolis has presented a collection of about seventy-five pamphlets consisting of his writings on

the subjects of constitutional government, water rights and water power, minimum wage, price maintenance, and uniform state laws. A copy of his book, *The Minimum Wage* (Minneapolis, 1914. 98, xxv p.), is included in the donation.

Miss Julie C. Gauthier, a St. Paul artist, has presented a portrait of "Pony," which she painted in 1883. "Pony," a little mulatto who earned a living as a woodcutter, was one of the picturesque figures to be seen on the streets of St. Paul a generation ago.

An iron spectacle case inscribed "Presented to George Washington, By Mother, Aug. 10th, 1777," has been presented by Frank J. Wilder of Boston, Massachusetts. Accompanying this gift is a sworn and certified statement by Josephine Voorhees Wilder giving an account of the way in which the case came into her possession.

Mr. Edward A. Bromley has presented a photograph of Faribault in the early sixties. It is an enlargement from the original negative made by B. F. Upton of St. Anthony Falls in 1862 or 1863.

A set of twenty-one of the original Brady Civil War photographs has been presented by Mr. C. G. Landon of Minneapolis. The scenes are mostly of Yorktown and vicinity.

Among the books and pamphlets, mostly of recent publication, received as gifts from the authors or publishers during the last three months are the following: *A History of the Ball Family,* by L. A. Bradley, from Joseph M. Andreini of New York; *America's Attitude toward the War,* from the publisher, the Bankers' Trust Company of New York; *Flower Lore and Legend,* from the author, Mrs. Katherine M. Beals, of St. Paul; *The War and Humanity,* from the author, James M. Beck of New York; *A Brief Sketch of the Life and Times and Miscellaneous Writings of Rev. J. Copeland* and *Copeland Genealogy,* from the compiler of the latter, Charles Finney Copeland of Holdrege, Nebraska; *Fifth Avenue; Glances at the Vicissitudes and Romance of a World-Renowned Thoroughfare* and *Fifth Avenue Events,* from the publisher, the Fifth Avenue Bank of

New York; *The Genealogy of the Fox Family,* from the compiler, William A. Fox of Glencoe, Illinois; *A Wonderful Fifty Years,* from the author, Edwin T. Holmes of New York; *Banking and Currency and the Money Trust* and *Why Is Your Country at War and What Happens to You after the War,* from the author, Hon. Charles A. Lindbergh of Little Falls, Minnesota; *Rural Life in Litchfield County,* by Charles Shepherd Phelps, from the publisher, the Litchfield County University Club of Norfolk, Connecticut; *The English Ancestry of Peter Talbot,* from the author, Mrs. Cyrus P. Walker of San Francisco; *Whipple-Wright and Allied Families,* from the author, General Charles H. Whipple of Los Angeles; and *The Fambly Album,* from the artist and author, Frank Wing of St. Paul.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The papers presented in the *Proceedings* of the Wisconsin Historical Society at its sixty-fourth annual meeting, October 19, 1916 (1917. 363 p.), include, among others: "President Lincoln as War Statesman," by Captain Arthur L. Conger; "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary," by Father Chrysostom A. Verwyst; and "The Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America," by Albert O. Barton. The volume contains also the usual report of the executive committee recounting the activities of the society during the year and discussing plans for the future.

"The Origin of the Various Names of the Mississippi River" is the title of a brief article by T. P. Thompson in volume 9 of the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society (1917. 134 p.). The volume consists of proceedings and reports for 1916.

The presidential address at the last meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, "The Rise of Sport," by Frederic L. Paxson, is printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. This issue contains also the annual review of "Historical Activities in Canada," by Lawrence J. Burpee.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has recently received from the daughter of one of its founders a bequest of property valued at about twenty-five thousand dollars. The income is to be "devoted to the editing of materials for middle-western history, preferably that of Wisconsin itself."

The 1917 issue of *Acta et Dicta,* the serial published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, contains valuable contributions to the history of Minnesota and the Northwest. Archbishop Ireland's life of Bishop Cretin is continued from the 1916 number, carrying the narrative to the year 1838, when the subject left France for America. "A Chapter of Catholic Colonization," by William J. Onahan, deals with the work of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States, including the establishment of colonies in and around Adrian

in Nobles County and Currie in Murray County, Minnesota. An article on the "Titular Bishops of the Province of St. Paul" is contributed by Rev. J. A. Bigaouette; and Rev. James M. Reardon sketches the career of the late "Father Lacombe, the Black-Robe Voyageur," who served as a missionary to the Indians at Pembina and in the Canadian Northwest from 1849 on. The section devoted to documents contains an interesting and important description of the customs of the Indians, particularly the Ojibways of the Lake Superior region, in the shape of a lecture delivered by Bishop Baraga at Cincinnati in 1863. This is contributed by Rev. J. L. Zaplotnik, who also furnishes biographical data about the bishop. The "Letters of Bishop Loras, 1832 and 1836," included in this section, are preceded by an account of the materials relating to him in the society's collection. Considerable biographical information is presented under the headings "Contemporary Items" and "Obituary Notices," and other sections discuss the work of the society and announce some of its recent acquisitions. Especially noteworthy among the latter is the library of Auguste L. Larpenteur "containing many books and papers of unusual historical value."

The increasing realization of the importance of state history and of the desirability of fostering a more general interest in it is evidenced by the birth in 1917 of five quarterlies published by the historical societies of New York, Louisiana, Georgia, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The latest to appear is the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* the first number of which is dated September, 1917. The articles in this issue are: "Increase Allen Lapham, First Scholar of Wisconsin," by Milo M. Quaife; "A Forest Fire in Northern Wisconsin," by John L. Bracklin; and "Banker's Aid in 1861–62," by Louise P. Kellogg. These are followed by sections devoted to "Documents," "Historical Fragments," "Editorials," "Question Box," and "Survey of Historical Activities."

The October number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains an article on "Government Survey and Charting of the Great Lakes from the Beginning of the Work in 1841 to the Present," by John Fitzgibbon.

The September issue of the *History Teacher's Magazine* contains a very useful "List of Historical Novels, Illustrating Some Phases of Economic or Social Development in American History," compiled by Professor E. L. Bogart of the University of Illinois.

The *History of Lewis Township,* Clay County, Indiana, will be welcomed as a suggestion for historical work in the schools. It was written by the teachers and pupils of the Lewis Township schools during the year 1915–16 and published in 1916 (Brazil, Indiana. 109 p.). The Coalmont High School students and faculty prepared several chapters on the geology of the township, its history and pioneer life, while the elementary schools supplied sketches of their districts and biographies of pioneers. The pamphlet is illustrated with pictures of local landmarks and contains a geological map.

The journal kept by Thoreau during his travels in Minnesota in 1861 is of interest to nature lovers as well as to historians. Extensive extracts from this journal have been incorporated by Franklin B. Sanborn into his *Life of Henry David Thoreau* (New York, 1917. xx, 542 p.). In 1905 the Bibliophile Society of Boston published this journal as a part of *The First and Last Journeys of Thoreau,* but, as the edition was small and printed for the members only, it has not been accessible to the ordinary reader. Mr. Sanborn has reprinted nearly all of the entries of general interest, omitting chiefly Thoreau's scientific notes.

The Minnesota State Federation of Labor *Year Book* for 1917 contains a sketch of the early phases of the "Minnesota Labor Movement." Such organizations as the Knights of Labor, the Eight Hour League, the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the State Federation of Labor, and various trades unions are discussed. In general the period covered is that from 1880 to 1900.

The insurance department of Minnesota has published an attractive brochure containing a history of the department, biographical sketches of former commissioners, and descriptive matter about Minnesota and the Twin Cities. It is designated as the "Convention Number" of the department's *Bulletin* [number

82], and contains the program of the National Convention of Insurance Commissioners, held at St. Paul, August 28–31.

The history of the inception and development of the St. Paul Institute is recounted at some length in its *Eighth Year-Book* for 1915–16 (156 p.).

In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of Wahkon, the business men of the city have recently published an illustrated booklet containing historical and descriptive matter (18 p.).

"Water Power Development on the Mississippi above Saint Paul" is the title of an article by Ralph D. Thomas in the September *Bulletin* of the affiliated engineers' societies of Minnesota. The author, who is assistant engineer of the St. Anthony Falls Water Power Company, treats the subject from both historical and engineering viewpoints. The geologic formation at the Falls of St. Anthony and the methods which have been used to conserve and direct the energy of the river for water-power purposes are described, and there is some discussion of the men and companies that have been most active in the field.

Rev. John P. Williamson, whose death occurred at the Yankton Agency, South Dakota, October 5, was born in 1835 at Lac Qui Parle, where his father, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, had established a mission among the Sioux Indians. After the outbreak of 1862 he continued his father's work among the Indians, who had been removed to Nebraska and South Dakota.

"Sioux Historic Trail" is the name adopted for the proposed highway to connect points of historical interest between Traverse des Sioux and Browns Valley. At a meeting of the promoters held in conjunction with the Fort Ridgely celebration of August 22 it was decided to mark the trail with three nine-inch stripes on the telephone poles, red in the center and white outside, the whole to be surmounted by a stenciled Indian head. A committee was appointed to locate the route definitely. The expectation is that it will lead up the Minnesota from St. Peter, through Traverse des Sioux, Fort Ridgely, Ramsey Park, and Granite Falls to Lac Qui Parle, then over the old Fort Gary trail to

Browns Valley. In the *Minneapolis Tribune* of August 19 Elizabeth McCleod Jones describes for tourists the places of historical interest along this route.

Nearly eight thousand people gathered in the Fort Ridgely State Park on August 22 to celebrate the fifty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Fort Ridgely. Although national patriotism was the dominant note in the day's program, the speeches of Thomas Hughes and Lorin Cray of Mankato contained material of local historical interest. Mr. Hughes sketched the history of the fort, while Judge Cray, who took part in the suppression of the Sioux outbreak, gave his reminiscences. The two addresses with some account of the celebration are printed in the August 22 issue of the *Mankato Free Press.*

An event of historic interest is the annual banquet given to the old settlers by the Junior Pioneers of New Ulm to celebrate the anniversary of the coming of the first settlers in 1854. Only two members of the original group are now living, Peter Mack of Milford and Mrs. Hembsch of St. Paul. Mr. Mack was an honored guest at the banquet for 1917, which was held October 7.

On August 25 the boiler of the steamboat "Otter" was placed in Turner Park, New Ulm, as a memorial of early steam navigation on the Minnesota. This is all that remains of Captain Jacob Hinderman's boat, which plied western waterways from 1855 to 1879. The *New Ulm Review* of August 29 contains an account of the ceremonies and an historical sketch of the "Otter" by Captain Hinderman.

Thursday evening, September 27, was home-coming night at the Rice County fair in Northfield, and a large portion of the program was devoted to speeches recalling incidents of frontier life. An exhibit of souvenirs of pioneer days interested many of the visitors.

The following old settlers' associations have held annual meetings during the past three months: Luverne Pioneer Girls at Luverne, July 26; Marshall County Old Settlers' Association at Lundin's grove, near Stephen, July 28; Cass County Pioneers' Association at Hackensack, July 28; Hennepin County Territorial

Pioneers and Old Settlers' Association at Bederwood Temple, Wayzata, August 16; Itasca County Old Settlers' Association at Pokegama Lake, September 3; and St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association at the Sawyer House, Stillwater, September 19. The Olmsted County pioneers organized an association on "Old Settlers' Day," which was observed September 11 at the Olmsted County fair.

In connection with a plea for local support of Minnesota waterways Captain George H. Hazzard tells in the *Winona Republican-Herald* of September 1 of the development of transportation in Minnesota during the eighties. Captain Hazzard came to Minnesota in 1856 and spent several years on the river boats as cabin boy and clerk; later he represented various railroad and transportation interests. He is, therefore, well able to furnish authoritative information on this subject. The article is reprinted in the September 8 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa).

Miss Pauline Colby is the author of some delightful "Retrospections" that have appeared in recent numbers of the *Pine Knot,* a magazine published by the patients of the state sanitorium at Walker. Some twenty-five years ago Miss Colby went to the Leech Lake mission to teach lace-making to the Chippewa women. The class was one of the first of several opened through the influence of Miss Sybil Carter, whose success in establishing this industry among the Indian women and girls is now well known. The "Retrospections" are written in the form of letters to an eastern friend acquainting her with the people and life of the reservation.

The *St. Paul Daily News* for August 26 quotes at length from Marcus L. Hansen's "Old Fort Snelling" in an article entitled "Stories of 'Old Fort Snelling' Indian Fights Are Told by Iowa Historian." Another article in the same issue treats of Fort Snelling as the "Scene of U. S. Military Moves Since 1805."

In the *Minneapolis Ugebladet* of August 16 appears a descriptive article on Meeker County containing references to early Danish pioneers and present Danish-Americans who live in Litchfield and its vicinity. The Danish immigrants have not been

numerous, although some of them came to the country as early as the fifties.

A list of the Watonwan County pioneers with the dates of their arrivals, compiled by O. T. Holslin, is printed in the *Madelia Times Messenger* of October 19. A brief "School History" of Madelia accompanies the list.

Students of Scandinavian-American history will be interested in the account of the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the *Nordlyset* published in the *Northfield American* of August 3. The *Nordlyset,* a Free Soil paper, appeared in 1847 at Norway, Wisconsin, and was the first Norwegian paper published in America. Its founder, Hans Christian Heg, was especially honored in the commemorative services held at Muskego, Wisconsin, July 29, under the auspices of the Ygdrasil Literary Society of Madison.

In the *Willmar Journal* of October 20 the editor, C. F. Spencer, tells his recollections of the early struggles of the *Valley Ventilator,* a paper established at Montevideo by C. W. Wheaton in 1876. Later it became the *Montevideo Leader,* which was recently consolidated with two other papers to form the *Montevideo News.*

A history of the *Stillwater Messenger* with some account of the founder's family is printed in a sixty-first anniversary edition of that paper, which was published October 3. When the founder, Captain A. J. Van Vorhees, came to Minnesota in 1855, he selected Stillwater as a suitable town in which to establish a Republican paper. The first issue is dated September 11, 1856.

The sixtieth anniversary of the establishing of the *Red Wing Republican* was the occasion of an historical sketch of that paper which appeared in the September 5 issue.

The *Roseau Times-Region* of October 5 contains an interesting description of a Chippewa-Sioux battle which is said to have taken place in 1857 near Two Rivers, Roseau County. The account is based on the story told by a Chippewa survivor twenty years ago and is reprinted from a contemparory issue of the same paper.

The issues of the *Winona Republican-Herald* for August 18 and 25 contain sketches by William Jay Whipple entitled "In the Primitive Days of 1852." The writer's own experiences furnish the material for his description of "log-raisings" and other activities of pioneer days.

"Arm Chair Cogitations" is the title of an article on the history of the state fair grounds which appears in the *Hayfield Herald* of September 13. The writer tells how the grounds came to be located in St. Paul.

A list of "First Things in St. Paul" may be found in the August 26 issue of the *St. Paul Daily News*. Similar lists for Stillwater are printed in the *Stillwater Gazette* of October 17 and October 24.

A series of sketches of Cottonwood County men is being published by the *Cottonwood County Citizen* in "Our Biographical Department." Mr. Carl H. Ruhberg is the author.

Some reminiscences by David T. Adams appear in the *Duluth Herald* of September 24 under the title "Pioneer of Mesaba Range Tells Story of Early Days." Mr. Adams discusses his part in the discovery of iron ore in the Mesaba hills and the subsequent mine development in that range.

An article entitled "Ramsey State Park Is Beauty Spot" in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of April 26 deals with some phases of the history of Redwood Falls and vicinity. The author is Elizabeth McCleod Jones.

A letter from H. H. Davis, published in the *Sherburne County Star News* (Elk River) of August 30, tells of early log drives and points out something of their significance in the economic development of Minnesota.

A reminiscent article in the *Clay County Leader* of October 19 tells of the Granger and Farmers' Alliance movements in Clay County.

Some interesting incidents of pioneer life are related by Mrs. Helen Varney in the *Anoka County Union* of August 22.

The *Caledonia Journal* of August 8 reprints Carl Becker's article on "The Monroe Doctrine and the War" from the May number of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN.

The *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, continues to publish valuable historical material on early river transportation. The section headed "The Old River Boats" contains letters from Samuel R. Van Sant, Fred A. Bill, and John Mahin of Chicago, August 18; a list of boats that went to Stillwater and St. Croix Falls, by Captain J. W. Darrah, September 15; and two articles by Fred A. Bill: "History of the Steamer Dubuque," October 6; and a biographical sketch of the late Rufus D. Button, clerk on the steamers of the Davidson line from 1866 to 1873, October 13. An autobiography of William Cairncross, entitled "Life on the Main Deck," is published in thirteen installments, beginning August 4. The author's career as a riverman dates back to 1847 and includes extensive experience in the navigation of the Mississippi and its tributaries.

A number of church societies have recently held services to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of their organization, and in connection with accounts of these celebrations several papers have published historical notes regarding the churches. The *Willmar Tribune* of September 5 sketches the history of the Vinje Norwegian Lutheran Church, which celebrated its semicentennial September 2. The *Mankato Daily Review* of September 17 prints pictures of several early pastors in connection with its account of the anniversary services of the Immanuel Lutheran Church of Mankato. On October 28 the Congregational society of Rochester marked the completion of the fiftieth year of its history by dedicating a new church building. Commemorative services were held by the members of the Anoka Universalist Church, September 12, and by the German Lutheran Church of St. Peter, September 23. An account of a twenty-fifth anniversary service, together with a sketch of the congregation of the St. Paul's German Lutheran Church of South St. Paul, is published in the *St. Paul Tägliche Volkszeitung* of September 3.

Several contributions to the history of the Sioux War of 1862 are to be found in recent newspaper articles. The *New Ulm*

Review of September 19 reprints an account of the first day's battle at New Ulm, published originally in a contemporary issue of the *St. Peter Tribune*. An editorial note accompanying the article explains that it was copied by Mrs. Gideon S. Ives from the scrapbook of her father, Governor Swift, who had endorsed on the margin, "Aug. 19, 1862. Battle of first day, before help came. True." The *Review* prints, also, two reminiscent accounts of these events: One, appearing August 22, is furnished by R. H. Henman of the Morton Indian Agency School, who bases his narrative on the story told him by one of the Indian participants, Hackita-Wakanda; the other, in the issue of October 24, is an account, contributed by Luther C. Ives, of the organization and activities of the Leavenworth Company composed of men from Milford, Sigel, and Leavenworth townships. The part taken in the uprising by Company F, Ninth Minnesota, is told in the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* of August 22 under the title "Fort Ridgely Times Recalled." Charles Culver, who participated in the war as a drummer boy in Company B, Fifth Minnesota, gives his recollections in the *Mankato Review* of August 28.

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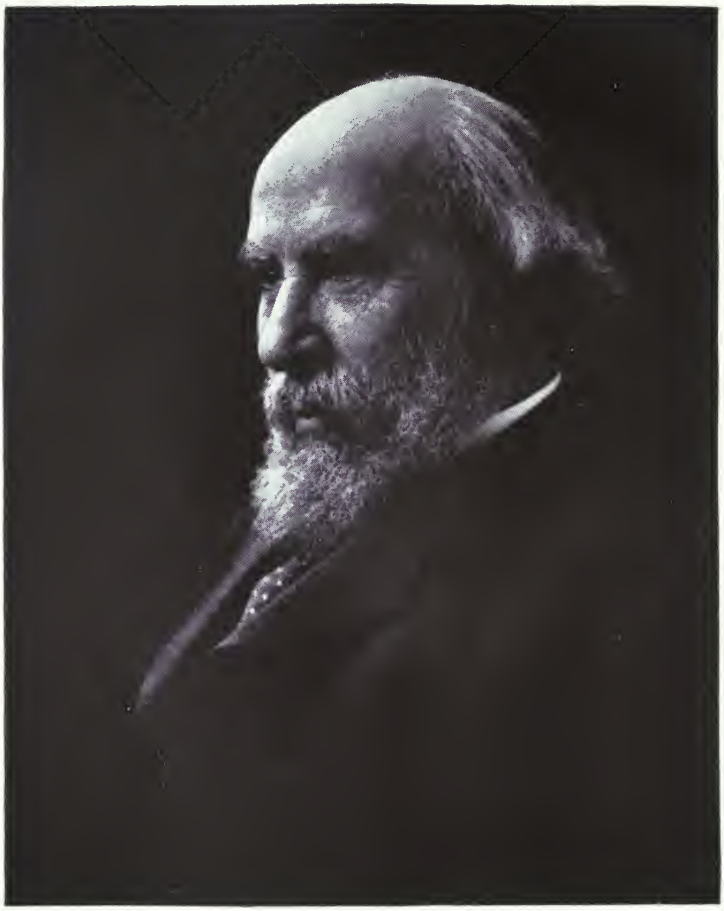

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JAMES J. HILL[1]

With unaffected diffidence I appear before you to-night in response to your invitation to deliver for the historical society an address in memory of James J. Hill. The compliment is deeply appreciated by me, however sincerely I may doubt my ability to rise to this high occasion, and to the level of that unique greatness which is its subject. Mr. Hill's extraordinary qualities and the diversity and excellence of his work must create in any one who attempts to appreciate them in words a deep humility. It is, none the less, our fitting part to pay such tribute as we may; to retrace, admire, and, in so far as we can, appropriate a life that is literally part of the world's history. We are especially proud because that life is written for all time in the annals of the Northwest and of Minnesota. By his connection with all the history of this state, by his just title of "empire builder" of the Northwest, by his long association with this society and his interest in it, as by the closer tie to those who were privileged to call him friend, he belongs to Minnesota, to the Minnesota Historical Society, to us. It is, therefore, most natural that the society should consecrate formally a session to his memory; and that at least an outline sketch should be placed in its record of a life so full, so varied, so preëminent by its characteristics and accomplishments that the most deliberate and exhaustive treatment must still be incomplete. To me personally it comes as a highly appreciated honor to speak to you to-night of Mr. Hill. Inadequate as I am to such a task, I feel that the subject itself and your interest in it will supplement many deficiencies, and also that something will be pardoned to an admiration so great and an affection so deep and sincere as my own.

[1] A memorial address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 15, 1917.

The important facts of the life of Mr. Hill are already almost as familiar to the public as his face. James Jerome Hill was born near Guelph, in the county of Wellington, Ontario, of mixed Irish and Scotch lineage, September 16, 1838. He was the third of four children. From both sides of his ancestry he inherited salient characteristics, though there was nothing on either to prophesy the distinction that he was to attain. A studious boy, as fond of books and reading as of play, he grew up in an environment that contributed to sturdiness of mind and body. He was educated first in the district school; then went to an academy at Rockwood, where a Quaker instructor, William Wetherald, seems to have done him valuable service in directing his reading and the course of his thought. When he was fourteen years old his father died and his formal education was broken off in order that, to help the family through, he might work in a village store. By the time that his assistance was no longer indispensable, he was eager to start in pursuit of a project as wild as any dream of romance. He had set his thought on the creation of new systems of transportation on the rivers of the Orient, to which his reading, especially Plutarch's Lives that he devoured, had led and his fancy beckoned him. He could reach those fabled shores by going as a sailor from some Pacific American port. The homes of schoolmates from the western wilds of Canada, as they were then considered and really were, would be his halfway house. But to reach these he must come to St. Paul, take the Red River trail north to Fort Garry, and thence strike west across the plains with one of the Hudson's Bay Company expeditions. He had to work his passage; and he reached St. Paul, by way of Chicago and the Mississippi River, July 21, 1856, only to find that the last Red River brigade had left a short time before. He was marooned here until the first one should go out in the following spring.

St. Paul had then between four and five thousand people. The "Northwest," as the term is understood now, did not exist. All communication with the outside world was by river

steamboats; but there was a flourishing trade, and people kept coming in fast. Business of considerable volume was carried on with the settlers in the river valleys and with the people about Fort Garry, now Winnipeg. The levee was the community center of life and activity, and there young Hill found employment. He became shipping clerk for J. W. Bass and Company, agents for the Dubuque and St. Paul Packet Company; for their successors, Brunson, Lewis, and White; and after three years went to Temple and Beaupre, and later engaged with Borup and Champlin, agents for the Galena Packet Company and the Davidson line of steamboats. These were years full of growth. The wine of life was red; the frontier is a stern but effective teacher; and James J. Hill mastered the conditions about him and the details of the transportation business as it was then carried on. He read and studied constantly. He assimilated every fact of the day's experience. He had his office on the levee, and he saw the first wheat shipped out of Minnesota and cut the stencil to mark the first barrels of flour that went out of Minneapolis. Many details of this early time, interesting in their connection with the city, the state, and the man, were given by him in an address delivered before this society in 1897 and printed in its *Collections*.[2] He shared in all the early life of St. Paul, and before many years became, by provident industry and economy, one of its well-established and promising citizens. An accident in youth which deprived him of the sight of one eye prevented him from serving in the Civil War. He had studied Minnesota traffic with the thoroughness that he brought to every subject worthy of his attention, and by the spring of 1865 he was ready to go into business on his own account as agent of the Northwestern Packet Company, then a big river concern.

In 1867 came the marriage to Miss Mary Theresa Mehegan, a St. Paul girl, from which dated his lifelong happiness and a great part of his ability to face with confident strength

[2] *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 275–290.

the world and the problems it brought. No man has paid a more delicate and convincing tribute than he did on many occasions to the domestic life that freed him and nerved him for the struggle. In all these years over which we must pass so rapidly, the chroniclers show him a busy, public-spirited, prosperous citizen of St. Paul. He was interested in everything, from trotting horses to local politics. He believed in the country. He was loyal to the town. If the word "booster" had been in the vocabulary of those days, it would have been applied first of all to Mr. Hill. He was now growing to be one of the solid citizens of St. Paul. He engaged in a general commission and forwarding business. He put up his big warehouse on the old levee. In 1866 he took a contract to handle freight for the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. And thus he entered a new field which was to influence powerfully his future. A great share of the business of St. Paul was carried on with the settlements in Canada near old Fort Garry. The Hudson's Bay Company, and the free traders in spite of it, engaged in this profitable commerce. In 1863 Mr. Hill had begun to handle a part of it for Norman W. Kittson, and became more and more interested. He was by this time a wonderfully well-informed man. His constant reading, his really marvelous memory, and his habit of minutely accurate observation were making him an authority. His indefatigable industry had given him business repute and laid the foundation of a modest fortune. He was an expert on fuel, and knew the coal measures of the Northwest as perhaps no other man has. He entered into one partnership after another, as his developing interests and his grasp of the local situation seemed to advise. The gross earnings of his firm, Hill, Griggs and Company, about 1869, were running from forty to sixty-five thousand dollars a year, a big sum for those days in St. Paul. The Northwestern Fuel Company of St. Paul is the direct successor to his fuel interest and his old firm.

It was the transportation business, in new forms and with new possibilities, that claimed him now. It had created and sustained the life of early days on the levee. The coming of

the railroad inspired him first with a true sense of the ultimate value and supremacy of the land carrier. But up in the North, where as yet there was no prospect of rail carriage, the Red River trade absorbed his present attention. Familiar with the volume and profits of this Red River business, he now went into it on a more generous scale. By 1870 he was immersed in that interest, and by 1871 had a through freight and passenger line so well established that Mr. Kittson was glad to join forces with him. The frequent trips that he made in these days over the trails and outside the trails, often through dangers and with adventures that he loved to recall, gave him something worth more than his profits: that knowledge of the value of the northwestern country for settlement and cultivation, that vision of its near future, on which afterward he staked everything, and which kept him sanguine always because he had founded his faith on a certainty. It was on one of these trips by dog sled between St. Paul and Fort Garry that he met, in 1870, on the snow-covered prairie, Donald A. Smith, whose fortunes were to be associated so intimately with his own.

It is impossible to rehearse here the long and unhappy history of early railroad projects in Minnesota. The St. Paul and Pacific was a successor of the Minnesota and Pacific, with both of which were connected many of the names still best known as contributing to the early history of St. Paul. Mr. Hill knew well this property, which went into bankruptcy in the general crash of 1873. Besides its valuable terminals and partly finished lines, it was heir to the Red River Valley country. During the next five years he became obsessed with the idea of obtaining control of it. In the old St. Paul Club House, as a friend of both of them said, he "bored it into Kittson with a threatening forefinger"; and P. H. Kelly complained one languid morning because "that Hill had kept him up all night talking railroads." He talked of it to any one who would listen, and all thought him mad. But Mr. Smith, deep in Canadian political life, felt it imperative to get a rail outlet from Winnipeg to the East. The future of the Dominion Confederation, as

well as his own, hung upon it. Until the far-future day of a Canadian Pacific through line, it could be had only by building from Winnipeg to the boundary, and then rounding out the projected St. Paul and Pacific system on this side of the line. Finally, after plans, advances, reverses, and labors, whose history constitutes in itself a thrilling romance, Mr. Hill, in connection with Mr. Kittson, Mr. Smith, and Mr. George Stephen of the Bank of Montreal, came into possession of the long-desired property. They secured it by buying its defaulted bonds from the Dutch committee which represented the majority of them, held in Holland, putting up everything they had in the world to bind the bargain, and agreeing to make future payments and to perform miracles in the way of construction which would have daunted any spirit less sure of itself or less confident than that of Mr. Hill. When General Sibley afterward asked Mr. Kittson, his close friend, why he had kept all this from his knowledge, he said, "I did not dare to tell you because you would have thought that I was mad." In 1878 the agreement with the bondholders was signed; and in 1879 the impossible conditions had been performed, and the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway Company was organized.

It is from this time that the real man becomes fully visible. For the complete display of his powers an adequate field was needed. He had never had it before. As general manager and, from 1882 onward, as president, he showed what he could do. Here began the series of financial plans and methods which started with putting the new company on a basis that made its securities acceptable in the most conservative markets by paying sure dividends, and ended with Mr. Hill as a trusted counselor of the great nations of the world. Even to those who thought they knew him best one surprise after another came as they saw him prove himself a master in railroad construction, in traffic getting, in operation, in financing. It was universal genius in action. But it was also, as he himself said in later years, "work, work, work, and then some more work." Nothing escaped his eye, nothing was forgotten, and nothing neglected. Even those

who felt the dynamic energy of Mr. Hill in his great enterprises of a later day find it difficult to realize how he was able at this time to carry so many burdens, to master so many different kinds of activity, to unite unremitting labor every day and nearly every night in the year with a level judgment and prescience, constantly occupied with the future, which were both among the most distinguished features of his wonderful natural endowment.

His dream realized by the completion of the railroad system, now firmly under his control to the coveted Winnipeg connection at the international boundary, by the occupation of the Red River Valley and the finishing of the Alexandria line, with settlers pouring in and business surpassing all expectations, he seemed inspired to more furious energy rather than to the relaxation which is generally held to be one of the rewards and privileges of success. His own work only fairly begun, he entered a syndicate, in 1880, with Mr. Smith, Mr. Stephen, and Mr. Angus to build the Canadian Pacific. His part in this was far from the perfunctory one frequently imagined. The fact was that he was already more familiar with the western country than any other man connected with transportation. He traveled incessantly, by buckboard, on horseback, on foot. He had men out in the field and others gathering information and sending him reports. For, of course, from the first moment that he felt secure of the St. Paul and Pacific, he intended to realize in fact the pretentious dream embodied in its name. He would build in his own time and his own way, but his railroad was to become transcontinental. Meantime, friendship, his appreciation of his associates, and his fitness for the part took him into the heart of the Canadian Pacific project. It is little known that to him was committed the location of its western line and a large part of the control of actual construction. He purchased an interest in the old St. Paul and Duluth Railroad, giving a lake outlet for his system. At the same time arrangements were made for a future independent line into Duluth-Superior, with great terminals there, and a direct line also from the head of the

lakes to the west. He had already started his system on that western flight which was to know no rest until it should reach Puget Sound. Construction records were broken in the great advance that pushed it through to Helena in 1887, and to Everett in 1893. By this time the Great Northern, organized in 1890, had become the parent company. The St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba had, as Mr. Hill said, "outgrown its clothes." Its successor became the depository of the immense and varied interests that his intelligence, energy, and will gathered together in the vast territory which he now made supremely his own. The financing of such a railroad system as this had come to be, and of the contemplated additions, could be carried successfully with this broadened base.

In the meantime every connection and every territory had been looked after with all the old thoroughness. The Duluth-Superior line and terminals became reality; the company ran its own steamships on the Great Lakes and smashed elevator monopolies at Buffalo. Wherever, along the two thousand miles of track, population grew, more railroads sprouted. Wherever a railroad stuck out a stub, there population appeared. This reciprocating action assured prosperity for both the company and the country. The Northwest became a name of power to conjure with, largely because the Great Northern was what it was, and because it followed the policy of encouragement to internal growth that expressed a fundamental thought of Mr. Hill.

During this period, which was contemporary with another disaster to the Northern Pacific, the control of the latter had been more than once within his reach. Lord Strathcona said many years afterward to Archbishop Ireland that if Mr. Hill had determined to take over the Northern Pacific, all that he needed was to send a cable to London stating the fact and the amount of money required. "No matter what the sum," he added emphatically, "so great was our confidence in Mr. Hill that it would have been forthcoming." But he went his own way, following his own sure plan. Mr. J. P. Morgan took in

hand the reorganization of the Northern Pacific, and a plan was agreed upon between him, Mr. Hill and the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, by which the Great Northern should hold half the stock of the new company and guarantee, up to a certain amount, the principal and interest of its bonds. This having been forbidden by the courts, the reorganization went forward as a matter of individual interest and agreement, and cemented a relation of confidence and understanding between Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan which was never to be broken. At the same time questions of supremacy had arisen in the debatable land of the Pacific Northwest, where a Union Pacific possession, the Oregon Short Line and its accessories, impinged upon the territory of the northern transcontinentals. Mr. Hill did not seek war, but he did not undervalue the seriousness of the situation. He took up the matter with Mr. Harriman directly, and it is not difficult to read between the lines of their correspondence the note of irrepressible conflict. To the struggle for territory was added the ambition to control Oriental trade, whose growth was a direct creation of the brain and railroad policy of Mr. Hill. Finding westbound freight over his new line far in excess of eastbound, he made a very low rate on Pacific Coast lumber to fill his empty cars. The business growing so rapidly as to swing the balance too far in the other direction, he ransacked the Orient through his agents and representatives to discover what it could buy from this country. He planned a great trade revolution, which should not only gather up commerce everywhere west of the Alleghanies and transport it to Japan, China, India, but actually revolutionize the ocean carrying trade of the world by swinging it westward around the globe instead of eastward through the Suez Canal. He built for this Pacific route the biggest freight ships ever launched. Few conceptions of world trade and world interest have been so grand and just as this, so founded on fact instead of fancy, so possible of realization.

That this development of American interest was to be shackled and prevented later by the action of the federal power upon the export rates did not affect either its present promise or

the hostility naturally awakened in a competitor. Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan understood each other; and the two railroads which they represented bought jointly the Burlington system, to make their traffic machine equal to the purpose present to their minds. Mr. Harriman held this an invasion and a menace, demanded a share in control of the new property, and, when this was refused, answered the challenge by attempting to buy a majority of the shares of the Northern Pacific itself. It was the darkest and most dangerous day in Mr. Hill's business life. The plan was practically executed before it was discovered. Mr. Hill said openly, then and afterward, that if the Union Pacific controlled the Northern Pacific, he should advise his friends to sell their holdings of Great Northern for what they could get. The Harriman party had secured a majority of the total capital stock of the Northern Pacific. Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan, who was abroad at the time, had to buy fifteen million dollars of common stock, in an excited market, to give them control of that class of stock, and they did. It was the famous ninth of May, 1901. Not only did Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan stand loyally together against the temptation of offered millions, but the former had the satisfaction of finding behind him, to their last share and their last dollar, the capitalists and stockholders who had been associated with him from the beginning. He had won their supreme confidence, and now it stood him in good stead. The holders of the common stock having a right to retire the preferred on any first of January, the victory remained with Mr. Hill and Mr. Morgan. An understanding was reached which left the Northern Pacific in Mr. Morgan's hands, with representatives of each of the big rival interests in the directories of the others, on a "community of interest" basis. Then, at the end of 1901, Mr. Hill formed the Northern Securities Company, whose purpose was to prevent raids such as this and assure future harmony of interest and action. After years of litigation it was finally declared illegal by a majority of one vote in the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Hill was not taken by surprise here or

anywhere. Mr. Harriman, in an attempt to resume the struggle for control by demanding back his original shares of stock, was defeated. The Great Northern pursued its triumphant way and, in 1907, consolidated all its proprietary companies under that name. In the same year Mr. Hill, having served for twenty-five years as its president, for which he never consented to receive any compensation, resigned the office to his second son, L. W. Hill, who was prepared by great native qualities, by fourteen years of understanding service under his father, and by a rare sense of filial affection and devotion to fill the position worthily, and himself became chairman of the board of directors.

During this later years occurred a development most characteristic of Mr. Hill. The discovery of iron ore in northern Minnesota had put a new face on property and progress there. To aid in the construction of the direct line of the Great Northern from Duluth northwest it was desirable to buy a small logging road that was in the way. Timber lands, some of which were known, and others supposed, to carry ore deposits, went with it. Mr. Hill bought the whole property personally, paying for it a little over four million dollars of his own money. He turned the railroad over to the Great Northern at cost. The ore properties were investigated, developed, constituted a trust, and the whole value—nobody knows how many millions it will amount to before it is exhausted—represented by one million five hundred thousand shares, was distributed, share for share, without charge to the holders of Great Northern stock. It was a magnificent gift of property belonging by every title of law and custom to Mr. Hill, but which the peculiar relation of trust that he had always felt to exist between him and his stockholders would not permit him to retain.

He had, from time to time, consented to make public addresses on topics in which he felt a lively interest, if the occasion seemed to promise practical results. In 1906 he delivered before the Minnesota Agricultural Society, to an audience of many thousands gathered to hear him on the State Fair

grounds in St. Paul, the address on "The Nation's Future," which attracted attention all over the world. It was a protest against waste of natural resources, and marked the beginning of the conservation movement in the United States. As one result of it President Roosevelt called a conference of the governors of the several states to meet at the White House in May, 1908, and there Mr. Hill repeated and emphasized his views. To the end of his life he was greatly interested in the theme, especially as applied to agricultural means and processes, and in its development in the direction of a proper conservation of capital and credit, to which he gave much thought and devoted several of his most studied public utterances.

Between 1905 and 1908 the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle line was built, following the north bank of the Columbia and freeing Mr. Hill's system from dependence on any one for its entrance to Portland. The property was constructed by, and belongs to, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific jointly. He was urgent that the public authorities and the audiences that he addressed on special occasions should understand the country's need of more railroad facilities; more lines of track, more equipment, larger and better terminals. He objected to the progressive increase of expenses and decrease of rates imposed by law, less because such regulation curtailed the profit of railroad stockholders than because it discouraged the investment of new capital, by which alone railroad service could be made equal to growing public demands. He was never insensible to the influence of a proper and legitimate self-interest; but far above that, and more imperative in its claim upon his allegiance, was his conception of public duty, and of the effect of a given act upon public prosperity and the general good. He fought early and late for reciprocity between the United States and Canada. It would undoubtedly have added to the business of the Great Northern. But he believed with all his heart that it would also add to the prosperity of the people of the United States. And if he had not been convinced of this last, he would not have raised his voice in favor of the policy. His most

strongly held views, on the subjects that he deemed of paramount importance, were expressed in a series of essays on economic theory and fact published by him in book form in 1910 under the title *Highways of Progress.* It was Mr. Hill's only contribution to the library of printed books; but his speeches, addresses, interviews, newspaper and magazine articles were legion. He was keenly interested in every topic relating to the public interest, expressed his opinion freely, and took a point of view which later events always showed to be both public-spirited and economically sound.

Mr. Hill now finished his financial shaping of the Great Northern by approving such additions to its capital stock as its new acquisitions by purchase or construction required, and perfected the plan for the big blanket six hundred million dollar bond issue which was to put its finances beyond the reach of serious disturbance for fifty years to come. Finally, in 1912, he severed formally his official connection with the railway system by resigning his chairmanship. He accompanied this with a review of the rise and growth of the property, which is an epitome of his active life as a railroad builder and manager, prepared by his own hand. The remaining years were as busy as their predecessors had been. In 1912 he made public his plan to endow St. Paul with a public library for research. It was to be for the service of authors and investigators on special lines. He wished it to become the last word in both information and authority. The concrete embodiment of his thought stands in this city to-day, one of the most unique and perfect specimens of architectural beauty in the United States. This and all other uncompleted designs of Mr. Hill are being carried out with pious regard and care by the members of Mr. Hill's family.

He had long felt the difficulty, the danger, and frequently the injustice of a financial dependence upon eastern resources of money and credit by the farmers, merchants, and manufacturers of the Northwest. More than once he himself had had to stand between them and ruin. The cash and the influence that

he could command built a dike which alone stood firm against the waves of panic. For the convenience of his own great interests, as well as to put an end to this situation, he determined to create the financial independence of the Northwest, whose material prosperity he had been building for so many years. He bought the First National Bank and the Second National Bank of St. Paul, which were merged under the name of the First National Bank of St. Paul on the first of January, 1913. The growth of this financial institution since that time has had few parallels in any country. It has found opportunity and profit in supporting and promoting legitimate industry of every kind throughout the whole Northwest. Especially has it contributed to the welfare of the farm and to enhancing the value of its products. In 1915 was completed also the great office building in St. Paul that houses the bank, the Northwestern Trust Company, also purchased by Mr. Hill, and the general offices of the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and the Burlington railroad systems. These were fixed for the future by him in the city of his home through the erection of this thoroughly modern structure, every detail of which had to pass a preliminary examination under his inquiring and critical eye.

He was immensely interested in the European war, with an intense sympathy for the Allies. He was high in the councils of the financial leaders of this country and Europe, amongst whom the question of protecting exchange and regulating international credit was debated and settled; and common consent assigns to him the most influential voice in determining the acceptance of the first foreign war loan proposed, and thus fixing the future policy of the country. He took this position not because of his sympathy with any other people, but because he believed it absolutely essential to the interests of the farmers and other producers of the United States. He was at this time, as always, busy with thoughts of the future, scanning the horizon for signals of hope or dread for this country after the war should close. His last words and thoughts were devoted

to this theme. In the midst of such activity, such usefulness, and such promise of busy and beneficent years to come, Mr. Hill died, after a brief illness, which was not even alarming until it neared its final stage, May 29, 1916, at his home in St. Paul. He was buried, amidst expressions of sorrow literally world-wide, in a spot that he loved much in life, on the shore of the lake at his country home at North Oaks.

It has been possible to trace here the life of Mr. Hill only in its barest and baldest outlines. Spots where the high light falls, acts greatly significant in themselves or much bruited among the public, pivotal points of his career have been selected to make an intelligible sketch. So many-sided, so brilliantly marked by episode and achievement along scores of divergent ways was the life of this extraordinary man that no one can hope to do it justice. And within the limits to which even your courtesy and the circumstances of this occasion must yield, I have not found it possible to introduce any of a multitude of incidents which are properly within the purview of this society, because they are part of the development of this northwestern country and its historic past. I can only hope that the more extended treatment of every fact of Mr. Hills' life which has been given in volumes presently to appear may supplement satisfactorily to you, his townsmen, his friends, and his coadjutors of Minnesota and the Northwest, this catalogue of subject headings to which practically our consideration must be confined to-night.

But to the chronologically arranged list of events which I have presented thus far must be added a number of others that loom large, some of them very large, in the life of the man in whose honor we are met. These are connected rather with his mentality, his sympathy, his spiritual force and insight, with the whole trend of his work and purpose than with any one epoch or accomplishment. He was consistently and immensely generous. No one can ever take accurate measure of this, for his right hand held no communication with his left. His private charities were numerous and unceasing. His gifts to edu-

cation were constant and large. He loved especially to help small denominational colleges, believing in the necessity of a religious environment for the best development of youthful character. St. Paul Seminary is one of his royal foundations. Hamline University owes him much. So do a dozen other institutions that it would be easy to name in the Twin Cities, and scores of them in other parts of the Northwest. Besides this, he always contributed liberally toward big public enterprises; the erection of important new buildings; the location in St. Paul of new institutions like the packing plant of South St. Paul, where his powerful personal influence was even more effective than his contribution; charitable or public movements for a worthy purpose and on a big scale; the needs of those whom he knew and of many whom he never knew, when the tale of their genuine distress reached him. He had a very tender heart for all misfortune and suffering. It never left him unmoved. In times of financial panic he was the very bulwark of the Northwest. Again and again he placed the resources of the railroad, his personal fortune, and his commanding personal power behind the business interests of this section when a failure of confidence was driving everything upon the rocks. Dozens of prosperous concerns in these two cities to-day owe it to his quiet help, when no one else could or would come to the rescue, that they did not disappear in the gulf of bankruptcy in some of the many dark days that overhung the country during the more than thirty years that Mr. Hill made the Northwest the particular beneficiary of his provident care. The farmers of the country traversed by his railroad owe it to him that their products found a market and retained a value. He carried the industrial Northwest, as well as so many individuals and firms, on his own shoulders through many a flood that engulfed lesser men. Nothing that affected its fortunes found him indifferent. From Minnesota to Washington and Oregon every commonwealth became the object of his peculiar care. His influence, his purse, his individual effort were at the service of their people when he saw an opportunity

to advance their development or a need to save them from the menace of any form of industrial misfortune. To him, indeed, the Northwest was a sort of big family, whose affairs called out from him a kindly and paternal oversight.

He had this feeling in intenser degree for the men who had worked with and for him. There was rare confidence between him and the old employees of the Great Northern. He knew them by sight, called them by their first names, would gossip with them about early days, saw that in their age they did not come to want. He trusted them absolutely. When labor troubles were abroad and people advised him not to go about the yards freely, he asked indignantly where he would be safe if it were not among Great Northern men. And his faith was justified. His men not only admired, but loved him. The Great Northern Veterans' Association, which always held its reunions on Mr. Hill's birthday, with him as guest whenever it was possible for him to be present, gave proof of that. Among the mourners at his grave were his own employees. The Great Northern Employes' Investment Company, founded in 1900 by Mr. Hill, was an early and sane example of profit-sharing that has been very successful.

Innumerable honors and titles of distinction sought him, and were met with the simple sincerity that he showed in everything. If they were empty gauds, no matter how highly esteemed or greatly coveted by others, he would have none of them. He refused each year scores of invitations to be guest and speaker at meetings of eminent people on occasions of consequence. None the less did he appreciate recognition of what he had done and was trying to do. It was his work, and not himself, for which he welcomed appreciation; and this distinction was made apparent in acts and words. So he was not indifferent when he was asked to open the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909; when Yale University gave him, in 1910, the degree of LL.D., to be followed afterward by other institutions of learning; when seventy-four of his friends from all parts of the country raised, without his knowledge, a fund

of $125,000 to establish a professorship of transportation at Harvard, to be named for him. These were real monuments to the achievements of his life; and he warmed, as we all of us do, to the word of appreciation while living, which is worth so many eloquent testimonials after we are gone.

Mr. Hill was always intensely interested in public affairs. He watched them with the eye of a business man, an economist, a patriot. He was always a democrat, whether you spelled it with a capital or without. He felt that results of infinite importance were bound up with the success or failure of this country's experiment in democracy. Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall were types that he admired. To the latter he would, perhaps, have given the palm as the greatest of Americans. Often when people believed that he was advocating or opposing with tremendous earnestness some proposed measure because of its expected effect upon his own interests, he had scarcely given that aspect of it a thought. Every party and every innovation in government were measured by him first, and accepted or rejected, according to what he believed would be their permanent effect upon the institutions of the country. He affiliated naturally, by economic predilection, with the old school Democratic Party. Grover Cleveland approached his political ideal, besides being one of his close personal friends. Like him, he would not follow the party if he believed it false to the public interest and to its own traditions. So he opposed the free silver heresy earnestly and vigorously. It was to prevent the *St. Paul Daily Globe* from passing into the control of the free silver element that Mr. Hill bought it. The people of this section and this city ought to know what use he made of his ownership. As its editor and manager during the first two and the last two years of its history as the property of Mr. Hill, I can attest personally that at no time did there ever once come from him, directly or indirectly, a hint or suggestion as to its editorial conduct or policy. On the only occasion when I asked him for direction, in a matter where my own opinion was still undetermined and where I knew that he had a very large

financial interest without knowing on which side it lay, he refused to say a word. His only instruction, then or ever, was to make the *Globe* a good newspaper, a credit to St. Paul, and to follow my own judgment and conscience in doing so. He had the *Globe* discontinued because, after ten years' experience, with a satisfactory and rapidly growing circulation, the advertising receipts showed a continuous decline. He had said from the first that, if the paper succeeded, he would not accept a dollar of the profits. Convinced that it could not become a financial success, he wound it up just as he would any other business in similar circumstances. There was no feeling about it and no occult reason for it. He did not believe that a newspaper ought to live unless its opinion was honest and untrammeled. Nor did he believe that it ought to live unless it could make an honest living in the world. These two principles he held with reference to all other newspapers as well as the single one he owned, and for which he long cherished great hopes as an instrument in the upbuilding of St. Paul.

All his life bore the stamp of his love of the Northwest. Besides the imperial monument of his railway system, every state in it has lesser memorials in such number that they could not even be listed here. He was at home anywhere, in acquaintance, in reminiscence, in anecdote, in intimate topographical knowledge and familiarity with business conditions, in any one of those seven states that he named collectively "the zone of plenty." Most particularly did he cherish Minnesota, the scene of his earliest struggles and successes. He knew it as a boy might know his native village. He had in mind every watercourse, every coulee, every elevation, all the old trails and stopping-places and landmarks. He was encyclopedic in his information, and could correct offhand any error made in book or article that laid profane hands upon the past. He never forgot those early courses to Fort Garry, those voyages up and down the Red River Valley. He gloried in the growth of the state, and fretted because it did not make greater progress. He was always generous with his time and his means to any plan

which promised advantage to Minnesota. He created at Duluth-Superior the most efficient terminal arrangements in the world. He was a loyal friend to St. Paul and Minneapolis. Both cities were always ready to do him honor. The tie with each ran back to the earliest times, and to a feeling which was as ready to give a stone-arch bridge over the Mississippi to one as a railroad terminal building to the other. His gifts to Minneapolis institutions were manifold. He enriched her art treasures by contributions from his own. St. Paul was his home. Here he had lived as a bachelor. Here he chose the first home for his young wife, a small but comfortable house on Canada Street near Pearl, now called Grove Street. When it became too small, he removed temporarily to Dayton's Bluff, while he built at Ninth and Canada Streets the house that he occupied until his residence on Summit Avenue was ready for occupancy in 1891. In St. Paul were born his three sons and seven daughters, all of whom except one daughter, who died in infancy, survive him. He resisted considerations of convenience that sometimes tempted him to remove to New York. He kept the Great Northern headquarters here, though many overtures were made to him by other cities. Wherever his voice had weight with other railroads and other interests than his own, it spoke for St. Paul. He placed here his great banking institution. He built here his big office building. Here he erected his wonderful library. And whenever personal interest or money consideration was required to bring some enterprise to St. Paul or to enlarge the scope and usefulness of a local institution already existing, Mr. Hill's hand was always active and his purse open. Such misunderstandings as at times arose look insignificant in perspective. He loved St. Paul, and St. Paul loved him, with a deep and enduring affection.

He was interested in the work and progress of this society. Its archeologist, Mr. Warren Upham, has placed at my disposal the results of his researches in its archives. At its meeting on March 9, 1868, five new members were elected: Dr. J. H. Stewart, Dr. D. W. Hand, James J. Hill, J. W. Cunning-

ham, and C. M. Boyle. On December 14, 1868, Mr. Hill was chosen a member of the executive council of the society, and remained such for the forty-seven and a half years between that date and his death. No other member in all its history served for so long a term. In 1869 Mr. Hill was one of a committee to secure suitable addresses for the society's meetings. In 1872 he was made first vice-president. In 1897 he delivered before it an address dealing largely with his early experiences in this state, which remains to-day the fullest source of information about that period of his life. He was always interested in the society's proceedings, and urged it years ago to secure from all the old pioneers a stenographic report of their early recollections, to be used as a basis for historical treatment. His gifts to it were many and valuable. As early as 1869 he contributed twenty-five newspapers, then much needed, to its embryo library. Later on he gave *Travels in the Interior of North America,* by Maximilian, Prince of Wied. This is a work issued from 1832 to 1834, with an atlas of eighty plates, showing views of Indians, buffalo, and other primitive sights on the Missouri River. It is probably the most expensive work in the society's collection. The painting in the reading room, by Alexis Fournier, named "The Chapel of St. Paul," is a gift from Mr. Hill, dating more than twenty years ago. His interest in the society and its work was deepened by his feeling for the old times and his wonderful memory. He cared to have things preserved as he remembered them. His passion for accuracy made a treasury of things of the actual past seem to him a precious thing. His feeling for that past was also an essential part of him. He loved the memory of long days and nights, of conflict with the elements, of escape from the violence of nature and of treacherous man, on the northern trail and out through the western wilderness. Most of all he loved the Mississippi River. He felt a personal relation to it. Up it he had come to fortune and fame. On its shores and through its agency he had learned the elementary lore of transportation. In a certain intimate sense it was "his river." He knew the

name of every spot along its upper reaches, and all their changes. He loved to sweep along the familiar banks in his car. The fresh-water pearls, choice specimens of which he collected, had an added charm for him if they came from the shallows of the Mississippi. There was a mystic bond between the father of the Northwest of to-day and its ancient Father of Waters.

Mr. Hill was a man of engaging personality, and of acquirements that measured up to the level of his great qualities. He was a reader and a student all his days. He sought first the fundamental facts, all the facts, on any subject that appealed to him. Then, with amazing clearness of insight and prescience, he went to the heart of it. His prodigious memory, which relinquished nothing that ever came within its grasp, completed a mental equipment as rare as it was powerful. He found certainty while others were mastering preliminary conditions. He was as genial in his personal relations as he was vigorous and masterful in business. He knew how to command and how to win obedience. He had the will to achieve, and understood how to choose and use his instruments. Woe to the man who stood in the way of the carrying-out of his plans. But his whole disposition was kindly. Brusque at times he was and must be, but he was a man of strong attachments, of pertinacious friendships, of unceasing generosity, of unbending loyalty, of tenderness toward suffering, and of sympathy with unsuccess unless it was due to laziness or dishonesty. For either of these faults he had no tolerance and no pardon. The strongest element in all his strength was the tie that bound him to his home. There lay his happiness. There, he said often, was the key to most of his success. There his affections found security and free play. He was always simple, hating every form of ostentation, loving literature and conversation and science and art, but loving his home and his life there most of all. As a connoisseur of art he stood very high. Not the least amazing thing about this amazing man was the fact that he knew painting and pictures as few men in this country knew

them. He bought not as a mere collector, and on the advice of others, but as an expert and judge of the beautiful. He no more needed or brooked any suggestion in passing on a picture than he did in reviewing a plan of one of his engineers. Subject, feeling, atmosphere, technique, value—he understood it all as if he had been born and educated among studios. Almost the strangest of his manifold gifts was this appreciation and unerring judgment of the beautiful in all its forms: paintings, jewels, tapestries, china, whatever men have agreed to hold precious as enmeshing for one moment the evasive spirit of beauty. The artist in him contended for supremacy with the man of affairs.

Practical estimates of Mr. Hill and of the work that he accomplished in the world find three fields in which he excelled especially: as a railroad builder and manager, as a captain of finance, and as a sound economist, with particular reference to the development and improvement of agriculture. To the first his whole life bears witness, and there his works do follow him. Aside from the great accomplishments of which this Northwest is the living result, two features of his career as a railroad man stand out in strong relief. One was his command of all the elements of construction. His engineers came to him for help in solving their knotty problems. They never found him lacking in original ideas or in information or in sound judgment of the adaptation of means to ends. He was the first to lay down the general rule that railroads should be built with the lowest grades and curves compatible with the economic limits of cost of construction as related to the probable future of traffic. The ensuing lower cost of operation was equivalent to simple interest, for a time, on a larger sum, instead of compound interest, in the shape of higher costs, on a somewhat smaller sum, forever. This made him the most formidable competitor in the Northwest. It relieved him from all fear of successful rivalry and kept the operating ratio of his railroad the despair of others. By this policy he fixed and expressed a principle and established a rule which all other

railroad men in the country were to follow later. Because of low operating cost he was sure of being able not only to bankrupt any rival that should become bumptious enough to try conclusions with him, but also to pay uninterruptedly dividends that made his system a synonym for safe and profitable investment in every capital of Europe as well as all over the United States.

The law of construction just stated has its relation to financing as well as to engineering. Mr. Hill was born with a natural grasp of financial possibilities and relations. He had always made his profit; from the warehouse on the levee, from commissions and shrewd purchases of odd lots that tempted nobody else, from the contract with the St. Paul and Pacific, from the Red River business, from the fuel trade in which his exhaustive knowledge of the coal resources of the Northwest made him a master. The railroad was only a larger opportunity for the exercise of native genius. The boldness of his original plan, which bought a railroad system, consisting so largely of old junk and dishonored bonds, on a modest cash payment and a promise to exchange new securities issued against the same property for old, staggered the men of his own time. In him it was not speculation, but foreknowledge. He knew the country, its future, the present and the coming value in earning power of every battered locomotive and every foot of sagging track. He knew himself and what he could do. From the moment that he was in control, the railroad manager and the financier in him were so merged that neither could be separated from the other or arrested in its career of conquest. He could borrow money at the beginning because he could convince the lender that it would be repaid with interest and profit. It was repaid scrupulously; came back and brought friends and relatives with it. Mr. Hill, after his first year in control, never had any difficulty in getting all the money he needed for any enterprise. All the wonders of financing the transcontinental line, the Pacific extension, the innumerable branch lines and feeders, the great consolidation, the Burlington purchase, were

performed with as little friction or delay as the building of a spur track to somebody's warehouse. Years before his life ended he was consulted on financial problems from one end of the country to the other. He was always in demand at meetings of bankers. His advice was asked by those who had charge of reforming the monetary system of the United States. No big financial transaction was carried through without his participation or friendly counsel, always sought and freely given. It was a fine thing to see how, when others were distracted by all sorts of foolish arguments for or against war loans to the Allies, in times that threw men's judgment off balance because they disturbed clear and quiet thinking, he went straight to the central fact. Our own country, he said, must sell its food products and raw materials abroad, or face business collapse. It could not sell without buyers. Its only customers could not pay cash, but had sound credit to offer. Therefore we must take the loan, not for the advantage of the borrowers, but for our own commercial salvation. In the last year of his life the voice and counsel of Mr. Hill were potent in the financial deliberations of America and of the world.

His services to agriculture do not yield in magnitude or value to those he rendered elsewhere. They have a double relation to his life, because, as he saw it, the farm and the railroad were partners. It was from that conception that the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba was born. The wheels of the Red River carts and the busy gophers brought to the surface soil specimens with a promise of inexhaustible richness. This would attract people. People would need railroads. Railroads bringing people, people creating more railroads, so he visioned the everlasting cycle. Therefore he believed that he was helping the farm when he improved the railroad, and helping the railroad when he showed how to make the farm more prosperous. He always insisted that the lowest freight rates should be those on farm products. He made it relatively cheaper for the farmer of the Northwest to reach his market than for any other in the country. He said over and over to the farmers

that they and the railroad were in the same boat; that if the farm did not prosper there could be no business, and nothing for the railroad to carry. Therefore he focused his attention from a very early day on increasing the number of farmers and the net acre product of the farm. From the period of his early prosperity in St. Paul he had been interested in trotting horses, high-grade animals, and blooded stock. He had a stock farm of his own at Crystal Bay, Lake Minnetonka. A crop failure in 1881, with disaster to the farmers and bad effects to railroad traffic, made him urgent that farm industry should be diversified. He determined that, as he said, the farmer should no longer have all his eggs in one basket. So he began, in 1883, the distribution of high-grade bulls, bought abroad by himself, for free service throughout the counties of the Red River Valley. No matter whether he was understood and appreciated or not, he never relinquished his efforts to raise the quality of all kinds of live stock all over the Northwest. In the last year of his life he was importing the best strains of general purpose cattle, at his own expense, and pushing them out on the farms. As years passed, his activity broadened with his interest. He taught incessantly a better agriculture. Under his direction the Great Northern entered the agronomic field, ran demonstration trains, conducted demonstration plots on farms, analyzed soils, for which purpose Mr. Hill gave the use of the greenhouses attached to his residence, scattered all over the Northwest truths about fertilization and soil conservation and the possibilities of production. He himself kept up a personal campaign in season and out of season. He said that the gospel of better farming must be carried to the man on the land. He sent out missionaries to take it to him. He went himself. Every year he devoted time and strength, such as few men would lavish on their own most important affairs, to talk at county fairs in different parts of the Northwest, to instruct the people how to bring the farm up nearer to the level of its reasonable practical possibilities. If the building of the Great Northern added, as it did, billions of dollars to the value of

the real property in the Northwest, the labors and contributions of Mr. Hill for the improvement of agriculture have added hundreds of millions to the amount and value of the product. This is an influence going on incessantly and giving cumulative returns with each passing year. The railroad, the bank, and the farm are all monuments to this life so magnificently fertile in conception and so tirelessly successful in execution.

I have detained you far too long, and yet I feel that I have barely indicated some of the material that should be included in any formal tribute to the work and character of James J. Hill. In many respects, where his unique genius breaks through all restraints, his life defies the limitations that even a criticism of appreciation must impose; the substance of its quality can not be conveyed within material boundaries and through the incomplete interpretation of words. In a deep and true sense it may be said of him that, like Abou ben Adhem, he loved his fellow men. About him there was no sentimentality—a thing that he abhorred above all others. But he wanted to see everybody prosper legitimately. He wanted society to advance; and right ideas in business, in economic changes, in government, to prevail. He was a very patriotic American; and in nearly every instance where people declared him a pessimist, because he exposed the certain future misfortune that must follow mistakes or refusals to face the obvious truth, it was not himself, but the future of the country, of which he was thinking. He had reached the limit of personal ambition. He was destitute of personal vanity. He had, as he said, more money than he knew what to do with; and its chief value to him was the fact that it had come to him not as a direct product of striving, but as an indirect accompaniment of the pursuit of those larger aims and ideas to which the strength of his will and the soul of his purpose were ever bent. He feared nothing for the future so much as the possible failure of the crucial American experiment in democracy. In the last analysis he brought every proposed innovation in law-making, every novel economic theory, every general principle and every practice that bore upon his own

activity or his own fortune to the same test: What would be its ultimate effect upon the institutions and the political destiny of the United States? His own great enterprises were not the object of a keener or greater solicitude. If his were the powers, his also were the anxieties of the statesman. Nor do I think it partiality or exaggeration to say, after a historic survey and an analytic scrutiny of the time in which he lived, that he was its greatest, its most compelling figure. By the complex, yet singularly even, texture of his being; by the works of his hands; by his interest in, and his service to, the life of the world and its evolution; by the piercing intelligence that commanded both past and future; by mastery of men and consummate art of method; by all the gifts which we call genius because it sets its possessor apart from and above other men; and then by the sense of unity of being and purpose between him and all other men, communities, nations, and the ebb and flow of intellectual and spiritual tides past the shores of our little island in space and out, through the immensities of the universe, he won through heroic service the right to that earthly immortality which destiny herself had allotted to him when she assigned to him these qualities, as winning and as masterful as forces of nature, that accomplish one man's lordship in a world of men.

We are proud to have called our neighbor this man whom all the world honored while he passed so quietly among us with his strong soul and simple word. If his was a mystic gift of prophetic vision, that is part of the dower of the Celt, with it went also the capacity for deep feeling and the incomparable swiftness and strength in action that won for him our admiration. If he had not lived there would, of course, have still been a Minnesota and a Northwest, but as if born out of due season, and how different from what we inherit. He was of national, of international stature. This state named him its greatest living citizen for the Hall of Fame of a national exposition, just as the state of Washington keeps a bust of him on the campus of her university as one whom she delighted to honor. He was of lowly lineage, and the great of the world

felt privileged to know him. In every capital of Europe and in the thronged centers of the Orient his name was familiar. He was of the West, and the East proudly acknowledged his qualities and achievements. What more of honor could be bestowed than the consenting opinion of his own epoch laid in tribute on his grave? To us here belongs the closer and tenderer tie of common local citizenship, of daily association, of the mutual interest and the kindly word and look. This society, old as years go in the youthful genealogical record of the Northwest, is very proud to have carried for nearly half a century on its records the name of the man most distinguished in his time for his accomplishment, for power, for deep understanding and sympathy with the needs, interests, and aspirations of men. He had ideals, in which his city, his state, his country, and his kind were included, and he was faithful to them. That is the last and highest word of praise to be spoken of any man, who is son of earth and also son of heaven. With it, with our regret, our remembrance, our admiration, our wonder, and our love, we may leave to memory and to fame the man who was in himself the builder of empires, the wayfarer on highroads of genius, the tender husband and father, the devoted and unselfish citizen, and the loyal friend.

JOSEPH G. PYLE

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUNTEER ARMY IN 1861 WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINNESOTA[1]

It is the present which gives direction to the study of history. In the piping times of peace historians were concerned chiefly with those things which lay within the sphere of "economic interpretations." When war was to be averted or embraced, even the most orthodox buried themselves in the intricacies of diplomacy and waxed enthusiastic or pessimistic over the growth or decline of international law. Now that the war is at last a reality, we all feel justified in for once indulging our primal instincts and focusing our attention upon military events. It is this inevitable shifting of interest which makes history a subject eternally new. It must be constantly rewritten to fit the times in which we live. In a day when our government is bending every effort towards the raising of a mighty army, nothing could be more appropriate than the refreshing of our memories as to the methods used in assembling another army in 1861.

Lack of preparedness for war is a constant quantity in American history. If, as some say, this condition were a sufficient guarantee of peace, the United States would have had no wars, for we have never been prepared. In 1861 the United States was as unready for war as usual. We had a small regular army, sixteen thousand men at the most, which was engaged in keeping in check the Indians along the western frontier. All of it was needed there. Probably the "mobilization" of enough troops to form a regiment would have been a hazardous undertaking.[2] In addition to the regular army

[1] Read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, October 15, 1917.

[2] Less than one thousand troops were garrisoned east of the Mississippi

was the militia, largely under state control, unequipped, disorganized, and for the most part utterly useless.

During the winter and spring of 1860–61 it became increasingly evident that the "impending conflict" was at hand. State after state seceded. The *Star of the West,* flying the flag of the United States, was fired on by southern batteries. Attempts at compromise, and at the "reconstruction of the Union," failed dismally. The president-elect, Abraham Lincoln, spoke kind but determined words. This situation did not prevent the federal government from maintaining a state of "masterly inactivity" with respect to military affairs. The people themselves thought less of such things, if possible, than the government. The newspapers preached the "right and duty of coercion," but the legislatures did little to make coercion possible. There was much boasting, but little action.[3] Then on the twelfth of April came the bombardment of Sumter.

River. Many of the inhabitants of the great eastern cities had never set eyes upon a company of regular soldiers. Report of the secretary of war, 1860, in 36 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, pp. 213, 215 (serial 1079); Louis P. A. d'Orleans, Comte de Paris, *History of the Civil War in America,* 1:172 (Philadelphia, 1875).

[3] For example, an act for the reconstruction of the state militia was proposed in Illinois and passed the House in February, 1861. It was allowed to die in the Senate where the chairman of the committee which had the bill in charge, R. J. Oglesby, a Republican, very sagely remarked that should "necessity arise the whole country, having the love of the Union at heart, would rise *en masse,* and, disregarding the hindrances of a militia law, volunteer their services to the proper authority of the State speedily and without delay." "Weak-kneed" Republicans who opposed action of the sort contemplated in the bill disliked to do anything which might further excite the South and the "Egyptian" members. The debates of this session of the Illinois legislature make interesting reading. One member from "Egypt" told the Republicans that "if they wanted a fight they could have it without going out of the State." Another declared his willingness to enforce the laws of the state, but he wanted to know when in the last ten years the militia had been called upon for that purpose. Should the people of the South attempt to invade the North his constituents would oppose them "like a wall of fire," but "if the North were marched upon the South, her forces would be met on the prairies and be made to march over the dead bodies of the men who people them." Illinois, *Senate Journal,* 1861, p. 391; *Chicago Tribune,* January 12, 1861.

War, so long a probability, became now an actuality, but to prosecute a war armies were necessary. How were these armies to be raised?

The constitution of the United States gives to Congress the right to "raise and support armies." Under such authority the regular army had been created and was still maintained. No other army of the United States existed. Congress, and Congress alone, could enlarge that army or legislate a new army into existence. But Congress was not in session; it could not be immediately assembled; and it was then as now incapable of expeditious action. Naturally the administration cast about for other means to accomplish its purpose, or at least to serve as a temporary expedient.

The expedient, for such it certainly was, the government found in an old militia law. The Constitution not only gives to Congress the right to raise armies, but it also declares that Congress shall have the power "to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasions." Acting upon this authority, Congress in 1795 passed a law giving authority to the president to call out the militia of the several states, or any portion thereof, whenever such an emergency as was contemplated by the Constitution should arise. Certain rather formidable restrictions were placed upon the president's action. First, no militiaman could be "compelled to serve more than three months, after his arrival at the place of rendezvous, in any one year," and second, the militia so called forth might not be continued in service longer than "thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress."[4]

When the news from Sumter arrived, Lincoln did the only thing he could do. He ordered the governors of the states which had not seceded to furnish him with seventy-five

[4] Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States. The statement of the law is positive rather than negative: "the use of militia so called forth may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress." United States, *Statutes at Large*, 1: 424.

thousand state militia to serve for three months time. In the same proclamation he called Congress together, presumably with the idea of requesting the only body which had any real authority in the matter to make further provision for troops if necessary. Later on Lincoln was not at all squeamish about the niceties of constitutional interpretation, but in his first war paper he left little room for criticism on that score. He had back of him the Constitution, the law, and a decision of the Supreme Court upholding the validity of the law. Only an out and out secessionist like the governor of Missouri could say: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its object, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with."[5] Such fine fervor, with equal lack of patriotism and logic, has its counterpart in certain present day denunciations of the conscription law.

Uninformed critics have wasted much breath in censuring the administration for the lack of foresight shown in calling only seventy-five thousand men and specifying so short a time as three months. Lincoln probably did not greatly underestimate the task before him. The law of 1795 explains why the term of service was to be for no longer than three months, and, apart from other considerations, the absence of a really effective state militia shows why a call for more than seventy-five thousand such troops would have appeared preposterous.

[5] In deciding the case of Martin *v.* Mott, February 2, 1827, Justice Story had declared in no uncertain terms that the constitutionality of the law of 1795 was not open to question, and that the "authority to decide whether the exigency has arisen, belongs exclusively to the President, and that his decision is conclusive upon all other persons." 12 Wheaton, 30. For the answers to the president's proclamation given by slave state governors see James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* 3:393 (New York, 1895), and John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History,* 4:90 (New York, 1890). The president's proclamation calling Congress into session and requisitioning troops, together with other interesting documents relative thereto, may be found in the *American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events,* 1861, pp. 715. A table showing the quotas assigned to each state is given in *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* serial 122, p. 69.

On paper, the militia system of the United States furnished the nation with a formidable army. The Constitution authorized Congress "to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." By an act passed in 1792 and subsequently amended, Congress sought to carry out the intent of the Constitution. All male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years were to be enrolled by the several states and held liable for service. An adjutant general in each state, in practice appointed by the governor, was to have supervision over military affairs within his territory. Nothing was done, however, to prevent the various state legislatures from elaborating upon the federal law as they saw fit. The result was that in nearly all the states there were constructed impressive paper organizations, always based upon the principle of universal enrollment, but differing widely as to details, and useful chiefly as a means of furnishing flattering statistics for a people not then noted for its modesty.[6]

Ignoring its statistical value, the militia system was suited at best only to the day "when every man's cabin was his fortress." For most of America that day had passed. Minnesota, owing to its proximity to the Indian frontier, should have had an effective militia if such a thing were possible anywhere. Yet the adjutant general in his report for 1861 deplored the "present weakness of the military force, as well as the absolute inefficiency of the Militia system of our State." According to a law of 1858 the state possessed six divisions,

[6] Article 1, section 8 of the Constitution; *Statutes at Large,* 1: 271–274. The Minnesota militia law, which is fairly typical, may be found in Minnesota, *General Laws,* 1858, pp. 232–254. The paper strength of the total militia of the United States was rated by the secretary of war in 1861 as 3,167,936. "Returns of Militia," in 36 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 53, p. 5 (serial 1100).

twelve brigades, twenty-eight regiments—in all, 24,389 citizens enrolled for military duty. Actually, Minnesota could count on the services of one hundred and forty-seven officers, and about two hundred men. That even this small number could be made available was due to the custom, common to most of the states, of recognizing a few volunteer companies, who uniformed themselves and drilled at their own discretion, entirely without compensation.[7] Arms, distributed by the federal government to the several states, were generally provided for well-organized companies, but all too frequently, as interest in the organization flagged, these arms were lost or were allowed to deteriorate through lack of care. On the sixteenth of April, 1861, when the first call for troops was made in Minnesota, the remnants of only eight volunteer militia companies could be detected by the state adjutant general, and these were most imperfectly equipped. Nor was Minnesota far below the average in military efficiency.[8]

[7] During the years from 1856 to 1860 there had been a lively interest in militia companies. Possibly this had been awakened by the events of the Crimean War and the lack of preparedness which had characterized England's participation in it. Nearly every American city of any size had its militia company, gorgeously arrayed, and drilled to perform all sorts of spectacular feats. Chicago prided herself especially upon a company of "Zouaves" which had been organized in 1856 and under Captain E. Elmer Ellsworth had attained rare efficiency. The interest in military drill seems to have died down with the rise of the more lively sports, such as baseball, but as late as 1860 Ellsworth's Zouaves made a tour of the country, arousing great enthusiasm wherever they went. The company was disbanded in October, 1860, when its leader left Chicago. Ellsworth will be remembered as the first Union officer to be killed in the war. J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders,* 2:32–35, 113 (Chicago, 1912). The "Wide Awakes" and the "Little Giants," respectively Republican and Democratic marching clubs, were another manifestation of this same enthusiasm. Both organizations existed in St. Paul and were of material assistance to the government when the war broke out. J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the City of Saint Paul and the County of Ramsey,* 396 (*M. H. C.* vol. 4); *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul) June 12, 1861; *Saint Paul Daily Press,* August 18, 1861.

[8] *Statutes at Large,* 2:490; 10:639; Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 231. According to its governor, the state of Illinois, whose population was ten times as great as that of Minnesota, had less than eight hundred

In each of the loyal states the War Department orders to "detach" from the local militia its proportionate share of the seventy-five thousand troops called out was received as an amiable legal fiction, and recruiting was begun. To all intents and purposes, Lincoln had called for volunteers, but his action made the states individually responsible for the raising of the quotas assigned to them and relieved the federal government entirely of this burden. In every northern state this responsibility was assumed without the slightest hesitation. What happened in Minnesota may be taken as typical of what was going on elsewhere.

When the Civil War broke out, Minnesota was one of the youngest states of the Union. Admitted in 1858, the new commonwealth had by 1860 a population of about 172,000, which a year later, residents confidently agreed, had grown to at least 200,000. St. Paul, at the head of the navigation on the Mississippi River, was the largest town in the state. It boasted some 10,000 inhabitants, nearly half of whom were foreign born. It had two daily papers. Railroads there were none; connections with eastern lines were made by way of steam-boats to La Crosse and Prairie du Chien. Other evidences of frontier conditions are not hard to find. One summer day in 1861 the St. Paul Daily Press complained that "about a hundred men (?) and half-grown boys went out on Wabashaw Street Hill yesterday afternoon to witness a dog fight. The police did not learn of it in time to break it up." A correspondent wrote to the same paper a few days later that "our old acquaintances, the Winnebagoes, were thick in the streets of Mankato while we were there. Their reservation . . . is within a few miles of the town; and when they get hold of whiskey . . . they are very troublesome to the

uniformed militia. Illinois, *Senate Journal,* 1861, p. 26. Massachusetts, with possibly five thousand effective militia, was better prepared to meet Lincoln's call than any other state. *Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1861, p. 451; Rhodes, *United States,* 3:362; James Schouler, *History of the United States,* 6:42 (New York, 1899).

inhabitants." Agriculture, lumbering, and fur-trading were the sources of practically all the wealth the state possessed.[9]

The governor of Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey, chanced to be in Washington when the news from Sumter arrived. He at once hastened to the war department and offered a thousand men from Minnesota for the defence of the government, the first tender of troops from any quarter after the fall of the Charleston fortress made war an accomplished fact. On the fifteenth of April the president's proclamation was published, assigning as Minnesota's quota in the new army a regiment of not less than 780 men. On the sixteenth, Ignatius Donnelly, as acting governor, issued the call. Troops were to be accepted only by companies, and the preference was given to the eight volunteer militia organizations supposedly in existence, provided they could recruit to minimum strength within ten days. With this exception, companies were to be received in the order offered, and to take rank accordingly.[10]

The scenes which so recently marked the entrance of the United States into the World War make it easy for us to picture what happened in April, 1861. The St. Paul flag supply was exhausted. Democratic newspapers headed their columns with Decatur's words: "Our Country, May it ever

[9] *United States Census,* 1860, volume on population, 253, 259, 261. In his message to the legislature, January, 1862, Governor Ramsey claimed 200,000 inhabitants for the state. *Executive Documents,* 1861, p. 4. The population of Ramsey County is listed by the census of 1860 as 6,641 native born, and 5,509 foreign born. The proportion of people in the state speaking foreign languages is suggested by a resolution introduced in the state senate in January, 1861, which proposed the printing of copies of the governor's message, three thousand in English, one thousand in German, and five hundred in Norwegian. Some house members wished to add five hundred in Swedish and five hundred in French. *Senate Journal,* 1861, p. 42; *House Journal,* 1861, p. 45; *Pioneer and Democrat,* January 11, 15, 1862. A good description of Minnesota society during this period is to be found in Joseph G. Pyle, *Life of James J. Hill,* 1:24–28 (New York, 1917). See also *St. Paul Press,* June 5, 8, 1861.

[10] *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 67; governor's message, in January, 1862, *Executive Documents,* 1861, p. 26; Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 231; *St. Paul Press,* April 18, 1861.

be Right; but Right or Wrong, Our Country." Preachers took patriotic texts and expounded them to audiences for once attentive. Mass meetings were called in every village. All this happened with the greatest spontaneity. In one respect, at least, the demonstrations differed markedly from those of April, 1917; people had an immediate object, namely, the raising of an assigned quota of volunteers. Speakers pointed out this duty with emphasis. Sometimes a roll was opened after a meeting, and all who wished to form themselves into a company of volunteers inscribed on it their names. The officers of the old militia companies made strenuous efforts to recruit their commands to full strength before the ten days allowed for this purpose should expire. Captain Alexander Wilkin of the Pioneer Guards, St. Paul's crack militia company, advertised for "able bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five . . . to enroll their names at J. C. Becht's Saloon, Third street, without delay." The state adjutant general received names in his office for a company of St. Paul volunteers and was later rewarded by the captaincy of the company. This activity was distributed evenly throughout the state. St. Anthony and Minneapolis threatened to raise two or three companies, and the St. Charles Hotel announced that owing to the fact that all the able bodied men among its employes "to the number of seven have enlisted for the wars, the hotel will probably be closed in a few days." April 22, six volunteers arrived in St. Paul from Pine Bend, "a village of only fifteen families," too small to recruit a company of its own. When the ten days had expired, it was found that three of the old militia companies were ready for service and that eleven new volunteer companies, representing nearly every part of the state, had been formed. If only a little more time could have been allowed, many others would have been ready.[11]

[11] *Pioneer and Democrat,* April 17, 19, 28, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* April 18, 21, 23, 1861; *Northfield Telegraph,* May 1, 1861; Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 82. General Grant gives an interesting description of these activities in his home town in Illinois. When the news from Sumter

The instructions from Washington were that the Minnesota regiment should be prepared to receive marching orders by the tenth of May. In the meantime, the troops were to rendezvous at St. Paul, where they should complete their organization. On the twenty-seventh of April, the adjutant general announced the ten lucky companies chosen to form the First Minnesota, and since no suitable quarters could be found in St. Paul, he ordered them to report as speedily as possible at Fort Snelling. This plan met with universal approval. The fort was described as "an old military post at the confluence of the Minnesota river with the Mississippi, six miles above St. Paul." In Indian times it had been one of the great strategic points of the northwest, but the advance of civilization had made its abandonment possible. In 1861 it was in the hands of civilians, but the officers' quarters, barracks, and other buildings were reported to be in a good state of repair, and ready for occupation once more by an armed body of men. It became the rendezvous and drill ground for all the troops which Minnesota subsequently furnished for the war.[12]

The regiment was assembled and organized with amazing rapidity. On the twenty-seventh, three companies came up

was received at Galena, followed by the call for volunteers, posters were stuck up calling for a mass meeting at the court house in the evening. Grant presided. Patriotic speeches were made by Democrats and Republicans alike. After the speaking was over volunteers were called for to form a company. The company was raised and the officers elected on the spot. Grant declined the captaincy, but announced that he would aid the company in every way possible. Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs,* 1:230–231 (New York, 1885). This account differs in no essential respect from the story of the organization of the Red Wing company given in Joseph W. Hancock, *Goodhue County, Minnesota, Past and Present,* 141 (Red Wing, 1893). Both are typical of what happened in the smaller towns and villages of the North.

[12] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, pp. 82, 231; *St. Paul Press,* April 30, 1861. See also General Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from its Foundation to the Present Time," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 8:427–448, and Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling (Iowa and War,* no. 1, July, 1917).

the river, one each from Faribault, Red Wing, and Hastings, and were quartered in the city over Sunday. By Monday, April 29, every company was on hand, the Stars and Stripes once again appeared on the flagstaff at Fort Snelling, and mustering-in by an officer of the United States Army was begun. During the latter ceremony a surgeon was present, but physical examinations were not rigorous. Only a few men were rejected. By April 30 the organization was complete. In the selection of officers the militia law of Minnesota was supposed to govern. This gave the governor the right to appoint all commissioned officers, but in practice companies elected their own officers, who were then commissioned by the governor. The captains appointed the "non-coms," and the governor appointed the field officers, consisting of a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major. From the roll of lieutenants the colonel then appointed the adjutant. The selection of ex-Governor Willis A. Gorman, a veteran of the Mexican War, as colonel of the First Regiment was favorably received, and drill was immediately begun.[13]

Minnesota had been asked for a regiment of 780 men. Within two weeks' time she had ready nearly a thousand, and everyone knew that as many more could have been obtained for the asking. Nor had the loyal section of the country as a whole been less generous. In spite of the failure of several border states to coöperate, the call for 75,000 men produced a total of 98,235, and the loyal governors literally deluged Washington with telegrams asking permission to receive more troops. If Lincoln had had any doubt as to the willingness of the country to support him in the stand he had taken, these doubts were now allayed. Realizing the seriousness of the

[13] April 30, Governor Ramsey sent word to Washington that one regiment of nine hundred men was ready for service. *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 138; *St. Paul Press,* April 25, 30, 1861; Minnesota, *General Laws,* 1858, p. 233; *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865,* 1:3 (2d edition, St. Paul, 1891). For a more extended account see *History of the First Regiment Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, 1861–1864* (Stillwater, 1916).

approaching struggle, the administration therefore decided to make more adequate preparations. Before the end of April word had been given out that no more three months troops would be accepted, and on the third of May the president issued a proclamation calling for 42,034 volunteers for three years or during the war, 22,714 additional men for the regular army, and 18,000 seamen to be used in making the blockade of the southern coast effective. All this the president did without the slightest authority of law. He was evidently convinced that his action was demanded by the exigency of the situation, and that the hearty response of the people to his initial call warranted him in disregarding the lack of legal or constitutional authority. Congress alone had the right to raise armies, and the extra-constitutionality of his action Lincoln in effect admitted when he promised that the "call for volunteers hereby made, and the direction for the increase of the regular army and for the enlistment of seamen, hereby given, together with the plan of organization adopted for the volunteers and for the regular forces hereby authorized, will be submitted to Congress as soon as assembled." He knew that this work ought not to be longer delayed if the Union were to be preserved.[14]

The plan for the new volunteer army was set forth in General Orders number 15 of the war department,[15] and

[14] Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln,* 4:86, 255; 7:8 note; Rhodes, *United States,* 3:438. Lincoln's proclamation of May 3, authorizing the army and navy increases, may be found in Abraham Lincoln, *Complete Works,* 6:263–265 (Nicolay and Hay edition, New York, 1894). "These measures," said Lincoln, "whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon, under what appeared to be a popular demand, and a public necessity; trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them." Message of July, 1861, in 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 9 (serial 1112). Congress later confirmed Lincoln in what he had done, but with manifest reluctance. *Statutes at Large,* 12:326; *Congressional Globe,* 37 Congress, 1 session, p. 392.

[15] Printed in full in *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, pp. 151–154, and in the *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 18, 1861. In the call for state militia the president had been under the necessity of accepting state appointments for general as well as regimental officers. These could be assigned only

endured, with slight variations, throughout the war. Pressure of business in the office of the secretary of war had thrown to the treasury department the task of drawing up the system of organization, and the imprint upon it of Secretary Chase, a former Democrat of states' rights proclivities, can be plainly discerned. Under his direction an informal committee of three army officers worked out the details. The most important result of their deliberations was the decision to take every advantage of state coöperation. A plan for a distinctly national army, using the congressional districts as the unit for recruitment, was rejected. Instead, the governors were given authority to commission officers up to and including the grade of colonel, regiments were to be raised by, and to bear the name of, their respective states, and only the appointment of the general officers and the disposal of the troops, once they were mustered into service, were left to the president. As one writer puts it: "The Government sought to save the Union by fighting as a Confederacy."[16]

to the more populous states, and obviously under such a system many difficulties were sure to arise. The necessity of federal appointment of the higher officers was not open to question. In the new army each division, under the command of a major general, was to consist of about fourteen thousand men organized into three or more brigades. Four regiments ordinarily made a brigade, and ten companies a regiment. The companies had, besides nineteen officers, a minimum of sixty-four and a maximum of eighty-two privates. Brigades and divisions were not necessarily composed of men from the same state and in practice were formed of almost as diverse elements as the "rainbow" divisions of the national guard with which we are now familiar.

[16] Emory Upton, *The Military Policy of the United States,* 233–235, 275 (Washington, 1912). General Upton goes on to show that the methods of North and South in conducting the war were diametrically opposed. The North made use of state initiative, the South sought to overthrow the national government by fighting as a nation. "The Government recognized the States, appealed to them for troops, adhered to voluntary enlistments, gave the governors power to appoint all commissioned officers and encouraged them to organize new regiments. The Confederates abandoned State sovereignty, appealed directly to the people, took away from them [the governors] the power to appoint commissioned officers, vested their appointment in the Confederate President, refused to organize war regiments, abandoned voluntary enlistments, and adopting the republican

There was as little delay as possible about putting the new system into operation. Some of the three months troops were already in active service and were allowed to finish out the term for which they had enlisted. But, whenever possible, the state militia in the national service was reorganized in conformity with General Orders number 15. In Minnesota this could be accomplished without difficulty. The secretary of war sent word that all men who were willing should be reënlisted for three years, and that all others should be mustered out. In conformity with these orders, about three hundred and fifty men who refused to enlist for the lengthened term were promptly discharged, and recruits were sought to fill the ranks. Within three weeks after the president's second call, the regiment was again at maximum strength.[17]

In no part of the country did the lengthened term of service noticeably reduce the enlistment fever. Possibly in defiance of the Constitution, certainly without authority of law, and frequently over the orders of the war department, dozens of regiments literally forced their way into the federal service. Before Congress could assemble on the fourth of July to ratify what had been done, the army of the United States had swollen to a total of 310,000 men. The defeat at Bull Run on the twenty-first of July added further impetus to the work. Next day Congress authorized an army of 500,000 men to be

principle that every citizen owes his country military service, called into the army every white man between the ages of 18 and 35."

[17] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 83; *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 161; *St. Paul Press,* May 11, 14, 1861; *Press and Democrat,* May 12, 15, 1861. The three months' troops of some of the states could not be induced to reënlist. On May 28, 1861, the six regiments which Illinois had put into the field were given an opportunity by presidential proclamation to enter the three years' service. No regiment was to be received in which more than one-fifth of the men declined to revolunteer. In case of regiments received, the men who had not revolunteered were to be mustered out at once. Regiments which declined to offer themselves for the longer term were to remain in service until the three months for which they had enlisted should expire. Not one of the Illinois regiments reënlisted under the terms offered. *Weekly Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), June 5, 1861.

organized in accordance with the principles laid down by the war department, and Lincoln, thus legally fortified, called for 300,000 more volunteers. By the end of the year the federal army numbered 687,000 men.[18]

In the raising of this great army Minnesota played an entirely creditable part. Before the end of the year, the aggregate of troops furnished by the state, as given by the adjutant general, was 4,400, a number greater than the entire population of Minnesota in 1850, and more than equal to the quota assigned. It must not be forgotten that all this took place with the minimum of assistance from the central government. For months the only direct representative of the United States in Minnesota associated with the raising of the army was the mustering officer, a captain of the regular army, who formally accepted the troops when the state had them ready. No responsibility which the state could assume was taken by the general government. This division of labor was fortunate. Without the energetic and effective intervention of the states, it is difficult to see how the war could have been won.[19]

Many governors, finding themselves overwhelmed with difficulties, called their legislatures into special session and unloaded upon them a part of the work. Such, for example, was the course which Governor Yates of Illinois adopted with excellent results. The Illinois legislature left nothing undone

[18] Reports of the secretary of war, July and December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 21 (serial 1112), and 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 3 (serial 1118); Rhodes, *United States,* 3:360; Ida M. Tarbell, *Abraham Lincoln,* 2:42 (New York, 1900).

[19] Governor's message, January, 1862, in *Executive Documents,* 1861, p. 27; Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 86. See also correspondence of Minnesota state officials and the war department in *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, pp. 467–469, 528, 533, 569, 587, 592, 593, 604, 727. Not every state raised the required number of troops so promptly as Minnesota. The *St. Paul Press* pointed out, November 27, 1861, that Ohio with a quota of 61,000 men had raised not more than 45,000, and that New Jersey with a quota of 17,420 men had only 9,000 under arms. Few states could equal the record of Illinois, which by the end of November had raised 46,000 men, when her quota was only 44,400.

to place the state on a warlike footing. Ten regiments, one from each congressional district, and one additional, were authorized, to be held in reserve pending a presidential call. As soon as raised, these troops were sent to camps fitted out at state expense and were paid the same wages as soldiers accepted by the federal government. To cover the cost of this proposition an appropriation of a million dollars was made; half a million more was to be used for the purchase of arms and to build a powder magazine, and another two millions was set aside for general purposes of state defence and national aid.[20]

That the coöperation of the Minnesota legislature was not immediately sought by the governor was due mainly to the poverty of the new state. While in Washington, Governor Ramsey explained to the secretary of war that Minnesota finances were in a somewhat critical condition and asked that the general government furnish the necessary clothing, arms, and equipment. This proposition was readily agreed to. Inasmuch as it was proposed in any event to reimburse the states out of the federal treasury for their war expenditures, the assistance which the Minnesota legislature might have given would have been only in the nature of a temporary loan. Moreover, the older states had full treasuries and abundant credit and could afford to advance the funds necessary to put their troops in the field. "But it would have been folly," the Governor explained, "for a State like ours, with a barren treasury, to have emulated the example of New York or Pennsylvania. If the Legislature had been convoked in extra session for this purpose, the required sum could only have been raised by the issue of bonds or treasury warrants, at a great sacrifice; and, without resulting in any substantial benefit to the Government, would have entailed a large addition to our own embarrassment."[21]

[20] Illinois, *Session Laws,* special session, 1861, pp. 10–30; *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 7, 1861.

[21] Governor's message, January, 1862, in *Executive Documents,* 1861, p. 26; also printed in the *Pioneer and Democrat,* January 10, 1862. The

While Minnesota thus sought to rely more upon national assistance than some of the other states, it does not follow that the expected aid was immediately forthcoming. The adjutant general and other interested officials were often at their wit's ends to know what course to pursue. Individual initiative, coupled with a spirit of patriotic coöperation, made possible what often appeared to be hopeless tasks.

The mere raising of men was no easy matter. June 12, 1861, the federal government announced that a second regiment would be accepted. Five companies were mustered in within a week, but the rest were obtained only slowly. Along the frontier were three forts, Ridgley, Ripley, and Abercrombie, where small garrisons were always kept to insure the safety of the outlying settlements in case of Indian uprisings. In the first days of the war the regular troops which had been stationed at these posts were recalled, and Minnesota volunteers were ordered to take their places, a most unwelcome task. It became the custom to make each new regiment serve an apprenticeship of this sort. Before the battle of Bull Run the North looked forward to speedy victory, and it therefore seemed at this time that enlistment for residents of Minnesota meant only garrison duty. If the regiment were ordered to the seat of war, one paper declared, it would be filled within twenty-four hours, but men were loath to spend their summer at the forts. The fact that the harvest season was at hand also slowed down enlistments, while the complaints of poor equipment and mistreatment on the part of members of the First Minnesota, who were getting their first taste of real soldiering, may have been a further deterrent. The battle of Bull Run brought an urgent request for the filling of the regiment, but not until the harvest and heavy working season was over did the recruiting become brisk enough to bring the

course of the governor in avoiding an extra session is defended in the *St. Paul Press,* June 28, 1861. It is vigorously assailed in the *Pioneer and Democrat,* June 18, 22, 1861.

Second Regiment to maximum strength. In October it was ordered to the front.[22]

The calls now came thick and fast. Two more regiments were apportioned to Minnesota by a dispatch of the secretary of war to the governor, dated September 17. A fifth regiment was authorized December 5, and at various times one company of sharpshooters, one battery of artillery, and three companies of light cavalry were accepted.[23]

Two steps were necessary whenever it was decided to enlarge the number of volunteers. In the first place, the president was required to issue a proclamation stating the number of troops desired and the states from which they were to be furnished. In any such requisition he was expected to take into consideration the number of men previously furnished by each state, as well as "the exigencies of the service at the time," and to equalize so far as practicable the quotas assigned. The second step in the process was for the governor to publish the president's call, asking for volunteers from the state at large. No effort was made, as a rule, to equalize the quotas among the various counties or sections within the state, but those first offering themselves were first accepted, and so on,

[22] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, pp. 84, 238; *Minnesota State News* (Minneapolis), July 13, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* July 16, August 8, 1861. When several companies of the First Minnesota were ordered to the frontier resolutions were addressed to the governor stating that the regiment was tendered for immediate service "to vindicate the laws, retake the forts and property of . . . the Government . . . and to permanently establish the Union of the States." Home Guards, it was contended, should have been organized to protect the frontier. Nevertheless, orders had to be obeyed, and several companies headed toward the forts. They were almost immediately recalled, however, and it is to be doubted if any regiment from the state saw more strenuous service than did the First Minnesota. *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 9, 1861. The efforts of the governor to secure the acceptance of the First Minnesota for service at the front appear in *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, pp. 229, 268, 270, 272.

[23] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, pp. 84, 248; *St. Paul Press,* September 19, 1861. A full statement of troops furnished down to that date is given in a dispatch to the secretary of war dated January 17, 1862, in *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 802.

until the required number was obtained. It can readily be seen that the success of this system depended wholly upon the popular response. The president might have called upon the governors in vain for troops had not the people of each state rallied to the support of their respective executives.[24]

In Minnesota, as elsewhere, whenever a call for troops was received, a proclamation was issued by the governor through the office of the adjutant general, setting forth exactly what was expected of the state. Although this proclamation was important news, to insure its prompt and full publication, Minnesota newspapers were generally authorized to give it two insertions at state expense. Following the call, it was expected that public meetings would be held in each locality to stimulate enlistments and, if possible, to start a muster roll. Although there was occasional talk of the need of more systematic effort to encourage enlistment, patriotic individuals sufficient to see that this work was done were rarely lacking. Neither in state nor nation did America possess a bureaucracy upon which such extraordinary labor could be thrust, hence, volunteers for recruiting service were as essential as volunteers to fill the ranks themselves. This was especially true in view of the fact that no one looked for the men to offer their services directly to the state. They were first expected to organize themselves into companies, and only with this larger unit did the state have time to deal. Obviously such a policy would never have worked without adequate voluntary leadership.[25]

It was essential, then, that prominent individuals in each locality should shoulder the task of raising companies, or parts

[24] *Statutes at Large,* 12:268. The adjutant general of Iowa saw no reason why the counties should not be compelled to fill their quotas and went so far as to propose a state draft to fill the national quotas. The boards of supervisors of the various counties according to this plan were to report the names and residences of all able-bodied men liable to military duty, and from these lists deficiencies were to be made up. Iowa, Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1861, p. 8; *St. Paul Press,* September 28, 1861.

[25] *St. Paul Press,* September 19, 25, 1861; Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:173.

of companies. Generally such an individual could feel certain that he would be rewarded by a commission, and thus ambition was added to the incentive of patriotism. There was considerable complaint about the "tricks, palaver and 'soft soap' of the political candidate." One outraged recruit declared that "the misrepresentations, lies and impositions that were practiced by some of those who were working for recruits, in order that they might become officers in some of the companies, would cause Ananias, the patron saint of liars, to blush for shame. 'Enlist in my company and I will make you orderly sergeant or sergeant or corporal, musician or company clerk!'" The worst of it was that the offices were limited in number, while the promises frequently were not. Officers sometimes entered upon their duties with small reputation for truth and veracity. "But they seemed to care nothing for that. They had got in; donned their shoulder straps, 'old cheese knives,' and were ready to be respected and obeyed accordingly."[26] This, however, is only one side of the story. The prospective officers assumed grave responsibilities. Frequently they had to bear the cost of elaborate advertising, of transportation, and even of subsistence, pending the acceptance of their men. They must abandon their business and devote themselves unreservedly to the task of recruiting. If their companies were not immediately accepted, they must nevertheless maintain the organization and do what they could to perfect the drill. But for the efforts of the individuals who became company officers, Minnesota, at least, could never have filled her quotas.[27]

[26] Alonzo L. Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment of Minnesota Infantry Volunteers during the Great Rebellion, 1861–1865,* 21 (St. Paul, 1892).

[27] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 233; *St. Paul Press,* September 22, 1861. In the more populous states men of sufficient means and influence undertook the raising of whole regiments and even brigades. The governors would frequently promise to any so disposed the command of the troops they raised. Sometimes, also, in the early months of the war, such regiments were accepted directly by the federal government, but this led to such confusion in the assignment of quotas and commissions

The opportunity to enlist along with his acquaintances in a company raised almost entirely in his own town and officered by his friends appealed strongly to the average recruit. How great a difference this made in the number of volunteers, may be estimated by a comparison with the number of recruits obtained for the regular army. Only about forty thousand men were to be raised for the regular service in the whole country, but by the end of 1861 that number had not been reached by fully one-half. During the same time more than six hundred thousand men entered the volunteer army. Recruiting officers for the regular army were maintained both in St. Paul and in Minneapolis, but almost the only mention they received concerned their lack of success. While other considerations undoubtedly contributed to the unpopularity of the regular army, the chief reason for its failure to fill its ranks was that it offered no opportunity for men who knew each other to enlist together.[28]

Among the colleges of the North the appeal of enlistment by groups had the same effect in 1861 as it has had to-day. The organization of numerous hospital and ambulance units from the ranks of college students, which we have witnessed during the last few months, has met with such extraordinary success, not because college men are predisposed towards any such service, but because there is no other way in which they can keep their group identity. Had the orders come for enlistment by companies in infantry, or artillery, or cavalry, or marine corps, or naval reserves, the response would have been the same. In 1861, Hamline University, then located at Red Wing, Minnesota, was the most pretentious institution of

that the practice was speedily discontinued. Colonel D. A. Robertson, in command of the Twenty-third Regiment of Minnesota Militia, made strenuous efforts to raise a complete regiment in Minnesota. *St. Paul Press,* May 5, 10, 18, June 12, 1861; *Pioneer and Democrat,* June 14, 1861; *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 200.

[28] Report of the secretary of war, December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, pp. 4, 10 (serial 1118); *St. Paul Press,* November 26, December 10, 1861. See also Upton, *Military Policy,* 235–238, and Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:288.

higher learning in the state. It furnished one-fifth of Goodhue County's first company. In 1862, Professor H. B. Wilson, together with a full company of Hamline students, enlisted in the Sixth Minnesota. Three successive senior classes were broken up by enlistments, and during the war the institution sent a total of 119 of its students to the front—practically every available man.[29] The record of this Minnesota college is typical of the colleges throughout the North.

Citizens of foreign birth, especially the Germans and Irish, ordinarily formed themselves into separate companies. The resolutions of some of the German mass meetings make even more interesting reading to-day than they did in 1861. One enthusiastic St. Paul gathering on the evening of April 22 declared that:

> Whereas, an aristocratic party has by revolutionary means, usurped the government of some of the slaveholding states, and taken forcible possession of the United States property, and threatens not only to put an end to the rights of freemen, which are guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution, but also to open a new home to the dying out despotisms of Europe on the free soil of North America, it is,
>
> Resolved, That the Germanborn citizens of St. Paul, will, till our last breath, remain true to our oaths, and will support the Constitution of the United States.

Measures taken at this meeting resulted in the speedy organ-

[29] William C. Rice, "Hamline Always Loyal," in Hamline University, *Alumni Quarterly,* vol. 14:7 (October, 1917). Divinity students did not then plead exemption, for many of the Hamline men were candidates for the Methodist ministry. "The Red Wing company," says the *Pioneer and Democrat* of May 23, 1861, "are models in some respects. About half of them are tetotalers, and the same proportion members of churches. They hold a prayer meeting in their quarters every evening." After the battle of Bull Run in which the First Minnesota stood and fought, while many other regiments ran away, and during which four Hamline students, among others, were killed or captured, the *St. Paul Press* gave space to the following: "The boys from Hamline University will be remembered for their soldierly bearing, their prayer meetings at Fort Snelling, their bravery on the field of battle, and their terrible loss in the first conflict." *St. Paul Press,* August 7, 1861. See also the issue of December 19, 1861.

ization of a German military company. Nor is this the only instance of the kind on record. Similar companies were formed throughout the state. The military training which most of the Germans had received before coming to America made their services particularly desirable. A company of veteran Germans constituted the first cavalry offered by Minnesota for the war.[30]

Although the organization of an Irish company was projected in St. Paul within a few days after the fall of Sumter, it must be admitted that, as a whole, the Irish volunteered less readily than the Germans. Towards the end of the year steps were taken to remedy this situation. In December, 1861, in response to the desires of Irish citizens, the Fifth Minnesota regiment was authorized. Volunteers for this regiment were not confined to any one nationality, but it was understood that the Irish had the right of way. "Irish fellow countrymen to arms!" ran one advertisement, "Now is the time to stand by the Stars and Stripes, and help to preserve the Union! Every loyal State has sent forth an Irish regiment: shall Minnesota be an only exception?" By the spring of 1862, the regiment, unmistakably Irish in flavor, was ready for service.[31]

[30] *Pioneer and Democrat,* April 24, 1861; Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 240; *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, pp. 394, 457, 461; *St. Paul Press,* September 29, 1861; *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 1: 572–584.

[31] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 248; *Pioneer and Democrat,* April 26, 27, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* December 6, 24, 1861. One of the reasons advanced for the organization of an all-Irish regiment was the reasonable expectation that a chaplain of the Roman Catholic faith would be appointed. The law of Congress of July 22, 1861, provided that "there shall be allowed to each regiment one chaplain, who shall be appointed by the regimental commander on the vote of the field officers and company commanders on duty with the regiment at the time the appointment shall be made." *Statutes at Large,* 12: 270. It was always customary in Minnesota to take into consideration the wishes of the majority of the men in the appointment of this officer. John Ireland, now Archbishop Ireland, served as chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota from June, 1862, to April, 1863.

The assertion occasionally made nowadays that the United States relied mainly upon foreign born citizens and foreigners for its armies in the Civil War is entirely without foundation in fact. The Comte de Paris,

The methods used in raising troops in 1861 were not without serious defects. Among these was the inability, soon manifest, to fill depleted ranks. It was relatively easy to raise a new company. It was all but impossible to secure recruits for old ones of diminished strength. Offices, which were generally the price paid for the work of recruiting new troops, were not at the disposal of the unfortunate soldier who was detailed to raise his regiment to full strength. Moreover, the enthusiasm of enlistment *en masse* was lost, and volunteers could not even be certain as to the company to which they would be assigned. The unfortunate part of this situation lay in the fact that the assistance of experienced troops could rarely be utilized in the training of raw recruits. New regiments had to be formed, officered, and drilled, when the old regiments had more than enough officers for their own requirements and could easily have absorbed a large number of untrained men. It was a process wasteful alike of time and of men, but it was the only way to obtain troops until the application of the draft made the consultation of individual preferences less essential. Towards the end of the war, the formation of new regiments was frowned upon, and General Grant took the liberty of consolidating the fragments of decimated regiments whenever he chose.[32]

a competent and unprejudiced foreign observer, gives elaborate statistics to show the falsity of such a line of reasoning. "The foreign element," he declares, "was not proportionately represented in the composition of the national army. The soldiers born on American soil were more numerous than if the army had been recruited by a draft bearing equally upon all the Citizens of the Union." Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1 : 180.

[32] The unsuccessful efforts to keep the First Minnesota at full strength after the battle of Bull Run may be traced through the daily papers. *St. Paul Press,* August 14, September 7, December 1, 1861. It was probably due to the extraordinary record of the First Regiment, and it was entirely exceptional, that as many as one hundred and fifty recruits could be sent forward to it by August 30. *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 467. In Illinois, only three hundred and fifty-one men were obtained for similar service during a like period. Illinois, Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1 : 16 (revised edition). To December, 1862, when the war was nearly half over, the total number of recruits to old regiments had reached only

Another difficulty arose from the attempts frequently made to recruit troops to be credited to one state from the residents of another. This resulted in no end of charges and counter charges, all tending to show that this state or that had been defrauded of the credit due it for raising volunteers and was being compelled to furnish more troops than its fair share. Wisconsin persistently charged Minnesota recruiting officers with entering her territory, and Minnesota as persistently retorted that Wisconsin had been "poaching" on her. One whole company of artillery from Minnesota, it was claimed, had enlisted in a Wisconsin regiment, while Houston County, one of the oldest in the state, had furnished so many troops to Wisconsin that during the whole first year of the war it was unable to raise so much as a company for Minnesota. Many of the states forbade this recruiting of troops within their borders to be credited elsewhere, but to the end of year Minnesota had taken no such action.[33]

The officers which the system produced were not always well fitted for their duties, potentially or otherwise, but under the circumstances a different method of selecting them would hardly have been feasible. No one thought of such a thing as a reserve officer's training camp, and there were only a few who worried because the officers were burdened with about the same amount of ignorance of military affairs as were the men given them to command. The regulations provided that the governors of the states furnishing volunteers should commission the requisite field, staff, and company officers. In the selection of the company officers, however, the governor rarely had anything to say. The man who had been chiefly interested in the raising of a company was rewarded with its command as a matter of course. Usually he was elected to that office by his men long before his commission could be granted. The

49,990. Report of the secretary of war, December, 1862, in 37 Congress, 3 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 10 (serial 1159). See also Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:274.

[33] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 86; *St. Paul Press,* 23, 25, 1861; *La Crescent Plain Dealer* (Houston County), August 6, 1861.

first and second lieutenants were similarly chosen, although there was often some rivalry for these posts. In Minnesota, during the early months of the war, the practice was adopted of commissioning the officers thus chosen only as the company was filled. A company part full was given a second lieutenant. When more recruits were obtained, a first lieutenant was commissioned, and finally, when minimum strength had been reached, the captain was formally inducted into office. Probably it was hoped that this withholding of commissions would stimulate prospective officers to greater recruiting activity. Non-commissioned officers were appointed by the captains of each company, and were often promised far in advance. One captain in the Fourth Regiment, however, waited until his men had become acquainted, and then with true American democracy allowed them to elect the "non-coms" by ballot.[34]

Ordinarily, regimental officers were not appointed until each of the companies had recruited to minimum strength. The governor had considerable freedom in the selection of the colonel, lieutenant colonel, and majors for a regiment, and it was fortunate that he did. Since the captains and lesser officers frequently possessed no military experience whatever, it was necessary to have at least one man to a regiment who knew something about his business. At first every effort was made to secure officers of the regular army for the higher commands, but the decision of the war department to continue the organization of that branch of the service made this course all but impossible. Although military critics are disposed to think that it would have been wise to have broken up the regular army, distributing its experienced men among the states to assist in the training of volunteers, the release of army officers for this duty was generally preëmptorily refused. In making their appointments, governors were compelled to fall back upon veterans of the Mexican War, ex-army officers, foreign born citizens who had had military training, and even

[34] Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1862, p. 245; *St. Paul Press*, October 24, November 6, 1861; Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment*, 40.

militia officers. As the war progressed, minor officers who had seen service at the front could be recalled to take higher positions in new regiments.

Military experience was by no means the only factor to be considered in the making of appointments. The activity of individuals in raising men was frequently rewarded. If a captain had shown himself particularly competent in recruiting his company to full strength, he might wisely be considered in line for promotion, for upon the regimental officers devolved part of the duty of raising a regiment to the maximum after their commissions had been assigned. Political considerations, likewise, could not be ignored. The appointments must be balanced fairly evenly between Republicans and Democrats. They must give representation to every section of the state. They must not ignore popular leaders. In short, they must be made with a view to securing the widest possible support of the war.[35]

Because among army officers thus chosen a few must be found who could never approximate success, Congress wisely provided that a military commission, appointed by the general commanding a separate department or a detached army, might examine into the qualifications of subordinate commissioned officers, and if incompetency were proved, might vacate their commissions. This rule was not rigorously applied, but it proved of considerable service when used as a threat. A man who knew his shortcomings either took steps to remedy them or resigned. Summary removal, when actually resorted to, might or might not improve the situation. New selections could be made only by state authority, and as often as otherwise they were no better than the original.[36]

[35] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 251; *St. Paul Press,* November 14, 1861. In the larger states, where individuals often undertook the raising of whole regiments, the governor was under the same obligation to appoint the man who raised the regiment to be its colonel as he was to commission the man who had raised a company to be its captain. Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:186.

[36] *Statutes at Large,* 12:270, 318; *General Orders affecting the Vol-*

The method which obtained in making promotions was equally unsatisfactory.[37] The federal government should have been authorized to apply a uniform rule, but this the states were unwilling to permit. Each state made promotions as it chose. Instructions issued by the adjutant general in November, 1861, explained the principles which governed in the advancement of Minnesota officers. Promotions to field offices were made regimentally; to line offices, by companies. Each regiment and each company was for this purpose considered a separate military organization, and no promotions were made from one regiment to another, or from one company to another. This practice varied widely from the seniority rule in force in the regular army, but state officials contended, not without plausibility, that there was a vast difference between the regular and the volunteer service. In the regular service men from all sections of the country were thrown together to form a company, and, enlisting as privates, they had little hope of promotion. Volunteers, on the other hand, came by companies from the same county or town, and the officers were often no better trained than the men. Since the regular army was officered chiefly from West Point, promotions in that branch of the service strictly by seniority could work no hardship. In the volunteer forces, however, it would mean the transfer of many officers from the company or regiment which they had assisted in raising, and which had elected them to their posts. It would mean, too, that privates, in many cases as well qualified for commanding positions as the officers themselves, would have no chance for speedy

unteer Force, 1861, p. 16; *Revised Regulations for the Army of the United States,* 1861, p. 521; Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1: 188, 269. In authorizing the raising of new units, the war department repeatedly reserved to itself the right to revoke the commissions of all officers found incompetent, but this seems likewise to have been more in the nature of a threat than a practice. *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, pp. 587, 607.

[37] The original plan for the filling of vacancies allowed the men to select the new officers, but Congress was soon convinced that this was impracticable and authorized the governors to make such appointments. *Statutes at Large,* 12: 270, 318.

promotion. Moreover, to the civilian there appeared to be "little justice in the rule, that, when a company by extraordinary exposure and valor on the field of battle should lose one, two or three of its officers, would supply their places from another company less exposed."[38]

General officers for the volunteer army were appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. Lincoln showed a strong disposition to choose men from the regular army for these responsible positions, and Congress made full provision for this contingency. Officers temporarily taken from the regular army to serve in higher positions as commanders of volunteers were permitted to retain their original rank in the regular army.[39] This had some curious results. When Major General Hancock was in command of the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac, in the regular army he was only a quartermaster with the rank of captain. At the time of the battle of Gettysburg, Meade as a regular was still a captain of engineers. Sheridan remained a captain of infantry in the regular army until close to the end of the war. By no means all of the higher officers were chosen from men of military education. Many appointments were made obviously for political or personal reasons. Some of these appointments discovered men of real military talent, but others terminated far less happily. On the whole, one may say that the effective military leadership in the Civil War was furnished by men who had had some previous training in the regular army.[40]

[38] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 252.

[39] *Statutes at Large,* 12:269, 281; *Revised Army Regulations,* 1861, p. 520.

[40] Bad appointments to high positions were hard to remedy, and from the first considerable criticism followed the elevation of each politician to high place in the army. "The military policy which subjects volunteers, surgeons, black-smiths and even mules and cavalry horses to rigid examination, should, in our judgment, put general commanding officers through the same course of sprouts. A brigadier general, however, needs no examination. If a coward, his commission makes him brave—if a dolt, it makes him brilliant, if ignorant it makes him learned, if deficient in all

As has been aptly said, an ordinary assemblage of men resembles "a statue of clay, unable to move without breaking."[41] Drill is required if any such mob is to be transformed into an army. This process would have been simplified greatly had there been an adequate number of trained instructors, but such, unfortunately, was not the case. Officers and men learned together. Usually, as already intimated, there was at least one officer to each regiment who knew something of military tactics, and, regardless of his rank, he assumed the actual direction of affairs. Also, among the recruits there were numbers of men who had had some military experience. Some of them had served formerly in European armies. Others had belonged to one of the fancy militia companies so popular in the Fifties. Still others had gained knowledge, not to be despised in such an emergency, as members of the "Wide-Awakes" and "Little Giants."

Training was usually begun by a company the day it was organized. In Minnesota, newly formed companies were generally ordered to report at once at Fort Snelling, or to one of the frontier posts. Here they had to remain until maximum, or at least minimum, strength had been reached, and during this time there was nothing to do but drill. Minnesota troops were relatively well prepared when their time came to go to the front. The long distance to the scene of activities, coupled with the necessity of garrisoning the frontier forts, delayed some regiments weeks, and even months, in their departure. Thus, an opportunity for military training was given, which, if unappreciated, was none the less useful. Reports of the rigors of military drill by the men afflicted are hardly to be taken at face value. Still, the training must have been fairly strenuous. The First Regiment began on a schedule something

military knowledge, he at once becomes the repository of all the learning of Scott, and all the aptness to command, which made Bonaparte famous. . . . It is the commission that works this transformation—this miracle." *Illinois State Journal,* July 3, 1861.

[41] Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:272.

like this: "Morning gun was fired at 5½ o'clock. Drill for an hour. Breakfast. Recreation for half an hour. Drill for five hours. Dinner. Recreation. Drill again until five o'clock, when the boys were again 'let out to play.' Such was the day's routine." In the evening the colonel assembled the officers for further instruction.[42]

The major portion of the training of the troops took place beyond the borders of the state. After the lesson of Bull Run, the necessity of further instruction was fully realized. In the East, and to a less degree in the West as well, the armies in the field became vast training camps. "In the conflicts of 1861," says Major General Wood, "both officers and men were untrained for the duties demanded of them. . . . By 1862 effective regiments, brigades, and divisions had come into being, but the conduct and leading of higher units as a rule was still imperfect. It was not until 1863 that the armies confronted each other as complete and effective military teams."[43]

The equipment of the national army taxed the resources of both state and nation to the limit. It was here that the lack of preparedness was most embarrassing. The scarcity of arms was startling. Volunteers came in swarms, camps could be improvised, and uniforms might be dispensed with, but no fighting could be done without weapons. The arsenals of the United States were neither numerous nor well-stocked, and many of them fell to the South.[44] The best infantry arm available was manufactured by the government at the Springfield arsenal, but prior to the war not more than eight hundred of these rifles had been produced in any one month; and the arms which the United States had furnished to the state militia

[42] *St. Paul Press,* May 2, 5, 1861.

[43] Major General Leonard Wood, *Facts of Interest Concerning the Military Resources and Policy of the United States,* 9 (pamphlet—Washington, 1914).

[44] The relative strength of the North and South in the *matériel* of war is discussed in Rhodes, *United States,* 3:239–241, 397–410; Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:292–316.

all too frequently were lost or useless. In this respect, however, Minnesota seems to have been rather better off than most of the states. Arms of various sorts to the extent of over seventeen hundred stand had been received from the federal government since 1852; but many of them were out of repair, many were of obsolete design, and many others, scattered among the defunct militia companies of the state, could be collected only with difficulty. Nevertheless, the state was able to arm its first regiment in full and to have guns of an inferior quality left over for the companies forming. Afterwards the federal government made an effort to furnish the arms for each Minnesota regiment well before the time set for its departure from the state.[45]

The immediate need for arms led the federal government, not only to make reckless purchases at home, but also to send a special agent to Europe with two million dollars for use in buying all the weapons he could find. The war department also authorized the several states, as well as generals in

[45] Report of the secretary of war, December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 7 (serial 1118); Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1861, p. 8; 1862, p. 235; *St. Paul Daily Press,* May 9, December 10, 1861. Referring to the condition of the Illinois militia, Governor Yates had this to say: "Under the present system all the arms issued to this state by the general government, representing a value of over $300,000, have been lost beyond recovery, and we have not today in the state, two hundred serviceable muskets." Illinois, *Senate Journal,* 1861, p. 26. A local paper described the state of military preparedness in Chicago as follows: "The eight military companies who claim to have existence in Chicago . . . probably could not turn out more than a hundred men fully equipped . . . and for these there are less than half that number of efficient muskets. . . . Four brass six-pounders, and a mountain howitzer completes the present war-like equipment of a city of 100,000 inhabitants." *Chicago Tribune,* January 24, 1861. The rapidity with which the Minnesota troops were supplied with arms is shown by the fact that as early as the fifth of June, 1861, 880 stand of the "terrible Minie musket, that carries a heavy ball a full mile" had been received. *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 22, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* June 6, 1861. But the Third Minnesota, on the eve of its departure for Louisville, Kentucky, was still without arms or accoutrements. *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 624.

command of divisions, to purchase arms for which the central government would pay. This policy was exceedingly short-sighted, for it led to ruinous competition among the agents of the states, the United States, and others authorized to buy. Prices advanced out of all reason. Arms of every description were purchased. American agents greedily bought up the old-fashioned and worn-out weapons of European states at a figure which allowed the latter to restock with the most modern inventions. Out of this chaos the government gradually evolved order. In 1861, the volunteer, if he had a weapon, was fortunate if it proved to be as dangerous to the enemy as to himself. In 1862, the Springfield factory was delivering nearly twenty thousand stand of arms a month, and privately produced muskets, somewhat standardized by the "survival of the fittest," supplied additional needs. By 1863, purchases of arms from Europe had ceased altogether.[46]

It was no light task to supply with clothing this great army of mushroom growth. Fortunately, the recent invention of the sewing machine had laid the foundation for the modern ready-made clothing industry, and the factories took over much of the work which a little earlier could have been done only by hand. At the outset, individuals and localities frequently assumed the responsibility of meeting the needs of troops from their vicinity. Thus, the ladies of Winona sent

[46] Report of the secretary of war, December, 1861, in 37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 7 (serial 1118); Emerson D. Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War,* 97 (New York, 1910); Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:298. Numerous documents relative to the activities of the government in the purchase of arms are printed in 37 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 67 (serial, 1131). Major Peter V. Hagner, an ordnance officer purchasing arms for the federal government in New York City, testified as follows before the Committee on the Conduct of the War: "The agents of General Frémont, of the governors of States, of cities, of Union Defense Committees, of colonels of regiments, and of generals of our army, are all here. I may be in treaty for arms, and the first thing I hear the arms are sold to some agent. Some men who hold arms, I sometimes think, are rather disposed not to have a *bona fide* sale. I think they have been gambling in arms just as they do in stocks." 37 Congress, 2 session,

to every man of their company at Fort Snelling "a beautiful gray fatigue uniform," and the ladies of Stillwater presented each member of the Stillwater company with a pair of "comfortable blankets." But the chief burden fell upon the state. When the First Regiment was called out, the adjutant general, in spite of the lack of money and authority, let contracts for blankets, socks, flannel shirts, trousers, and hats to a local clothing company. These articles were delivered as soon as possible, and although inferior in quality, they were accepted because no others could be procured without great delay. Also, several companies were equipped out of regular army supplies found at Fort Ridgley.[47]

One result of this method of equipment was the assembling for the defence of the national capital of an army clad in the most variegated uniforms imaginable. Governor Ramsey,

House Reports, no. 2, p. 35 (serial 1142). In the month of June, 1861, Arthur M. Eastman of Manchester, New Hampshire, purchased of the ordnance bureau 5,400 Hall's carbines at $3.50 each, and after a slight alteration of the arms, at a cost of from seventy-five cents to $1.25 on each arm, sold 5,000 of them, for $12.50 each, to Simon Stevens, who immediately sold the whole lot to General Frémont for $22.00 each. 37 Congress, 2 session, *House Reports,* no. 2, p. 40 (serial 1142).

[47] *St. Paul Press,* April 30, May 2, 4, August 8, 1861. See also Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions,* 88–90. There was continual misunderstanding as to what assistance might be expected from the federal government. In a communication dated September 14, 1861, Governor Ramsey complained bitterly of "the refusal or neglect of the authorities at Washington . . . to pay for either equipping or furnishing the First or Second Regiments of Minnesota Volunteers, though such payment was directly promised by the War Department." *Rebellion Records,* serial 122, p. 513. A different reaction comes from a member of the batallion of cavalry which was enlisted in Minnesota in September, 1861: "Being mustered into service, we were furnished with Uniforms, knapsacks, canteens, haversacks and blankets, which last were of the poorest quality and smallest size. These blankets were said to have been a gift from the State of Minnesota and were doubtless the best to be had at that time in the local market and of course were thankfully received by the men, but when later on these same blankets were found charged against the individual soldiers at the full price of the best the men did not feel so gratefull." Eugene Marshall's narrative of his experiences in the Civil War, in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

after one of his trips east, reported the street scenes of Washington: "Now it is a regiment of Zouaves, in Algerine costume; then the dapper gray style of the New York Seventh; next, perhaps, the Knickerbockers from New York, with breeches looking for all the world like the nether integuments described by Washington Irving; or some other unique style of dress and equipment." After the battle of Bull Run there was a strong demand for a national uniform. The Red Zouave uniforms attracted too much attention from the enemy. Others were so much like uniforms worn by the Confederates that friend could hardly be distinguished from foe. Often, too, the uniforms furnished by the states were of the trashiest materials. "A gentle wind," declared "Doesticks," an Ellsworth Zouave, "would blow a man's coat into rags in half a day; while if he ventured outdoors in a stiff breeze, his red breeches would tear into long red flags."[48]

The difficulties which the First Minnesota experienced in securing proper equipment are a fair sample of the trials which all the early volunteers were compelled to endure. The state authorities did what they could to provide a temporary outfit, but assumed that once the troops were called into federal service the national government would do the rest. This assumption was in complete accord with the law, and with private advices received by the governor from the war department. Hence, the departure of the troops for the front in summer weather without coats and overcoats occasioned little concern.

As time went on, an increasing volume of complaint came home in the shape of letters from the soldiers, correspondence sent to the home papers, and even petitions to congressmen.

[48] *St. Paul Press,* August 2, September 13, 1861. Doubtless many of the uniforms were made of "shoddy," a substitute for cloth, "which consisted of rags of all colors and descriptions, cut into pulp and pressed back into cloth by a process similar to that used in making felt; such cloth had no resistance, it easily fell back again into rags and pulp, and the sunshine or rain was wont to bring out its true nature very quickly." Fite, *Social and Industrial Conditions,* 85.

The men declared that they were destitute. They abused their officers for failing to secure the needed supplies. They abused the state authorities for general negligence. Some of them were ready to desert. An attempt was made to remove at least one man from the ranks by means of a writ of *habeas corpus* on the alleged ground that he had not been sworn in for three years, but only for three months. Real privations must have been felt, but the opportunity for exaggeration was too good to be ignored. The state adjutant general was convinced that nobody really suffered, and a committee of Minneapolis citizens appointed to inquire into the situation criticized the authorities only mildly, if at all. The regimental quartermaster went so far as to say that the men were sometimes guilty of maliciously damaging their clothing in order to escape drill and dress parade, and to hasten government action by their sad appearance. Colonel Gorman was not greatly disturbed. "A few men," he admitted, "wore out their pants and tore them so as to render them unfit for duty. . . . This has occurred in all regiments and in all armies." But everyone who stayed at home conceded that "in these war-like times our soldiers, with all the inconveniences incident to their situation, have a right to growl a little."[49]

That the men should have received new equipment long before it came was admitted on all sides. Still, no one was particularly to blame. Before the regiment left for the front, the state adjutant general had contracted with a New York firm for the delivery of coats and overcoats to the troops, presumably at state expense. Governor Ramsey arranged, however, that the United States should inspect these articles, and if they were found satisfactory, should pay for them. When the First Minnesota was ordered to the front, it was agreed that the goods should be sent to Harrisburg, Pennsyl-

[49] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 83; *Minnesota Conserver* (Hastings), July 25, 1861; *Minnesota State News* (Minneapolis), July 27, August 3, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* August 6, 8, 17, 31, September 1, 11, 1861; *Lake County Weekly Journal,* August 31, 1861; *History of the First Regiment,* p. 56.

vania, where the soldiers on their way east would find them. Unfortunately, the garments failed to pass inspection, and hence were not available at Harrisburg. The contractors were then ordered to make their shipments to Washington, and did so. But the military storekeeper who received the consignment had no knowledge that it was designed for any special body of troops and issued it to the first regiment asking for supplies. Remonstrances brought a fresh set of supplies, but no instructions to the military storekeeper, who made the mistake a second time. Finally, when the goods were addressed "For the First Minnesota," the regiment obtained them. Even after this there was much discontent, for many necessaries were still lacking, but before winter set in the government was able to furnish reasonably good clothing for all. Subsequent installments of Minnesota troops were usually equipped directly by the federal government without the intervention of the state.[50]

Dissatisfaction among the soldiers about the food they had to eat was no less inevitable than dissatisfaction about the clothes they had to wear. Most of the trouble about rations, however, came before the troops had left the state, for the United States subsistence department speedily developed a creditable efficiency. The simplest way for the state to provide for the feeding of the troops at Fort Snelling was to contract for the same with some local firm, and this was done. Whether because the contractors had difficulty in securing the necessary provisions, or because they desired to get rich quick, the rations for a few days were neither adequate nor appetizing. One company went to bed supperless rather than touch the food served it. Those who had visitors at meal time apologized, saying that the coffee would have been better "if beans hadn't been so plenty," that there would have been milk

[50] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 87; *St. Paul Press,* May 30, August 8, 1861. The condition of the regiment attracted much newspaper notice, but all the important documents are to be found in the issue of the *Press* for August 8. For general conditions see Comte de Paris, *Civil War,* 1:292.

in it "but the cow didn't come home," and that the "sugar would have been whiter, if it hadn't got mixed with 'our rich black soil.'" Protests to headquarters, coupled with a near "bread-riot," brought some reforms, but no abandonment of the system. As late as March, 1862, contractors, who boarded the soldiers at so much per day, still furnished the rations at Fort Snelling, and the soldiers divided their time "about evenly . . . between drill and cursing the cooks."[51]

Still another cause of discontent was the failure of the men to receive their pay at the time expected. The assistant paymasters who were charged with this duty were very frequently drawn from the regular army, and were accustomed to strict attention to form. Moreover, their operations were supervised directly by a separate branch of the service—the pay department—where there was little opportunity for the cutting of red tape so common elsewhere. The Minnesota troops expected to receive their pay on the first of July, but to their chagrin they found that the paymaster passed them by. The reason, once explained, was clear enough. Certain required formalities had been omitted. Officers were required to make a complete and perfect muster roll of their companies, showing when and where each man had enlisted. From this list only could the pay roll be made out. Blanks had been sent to the officers, but not all of them had made out the muster rolls, with the result that the men were delayed about three weeks in receiving their pay. Back in Minnesota a similar situation developed. The men who had enlisted for three months but had declined to serve for three years, were told that their pay would be given them October 15. When that date came, the proper official was on hand with the money, but he could find no data available for use in carrying out his instructions. Considerable time elapsed before proper identifications of the men and proof of their enlistment could be obtained.[52]

[51] *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 1, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* May 2, August 8, 1861; Brown, *History of the Fourth Regiment,* 23.

[52] *St. Paul Press,* August 8, October 10, 1861.

United States soldiers, then as now, were the best paid soldiers in the world. The volunteer received thirteen dollars a month, a sum which to the European eye appeared "enormous." In addition, each man was promised a bounty of one hundred dollars, and a land warrant for one hundred and sixty acres of land, to be given him at the end of the war or at the end of his three year term of enlistment. This really generous treatment may have induced a considerable number to volunteer who might otherwise have hesitated. As the war progressed, the bounties offered by the national government were augmented greatly by state, county, and even municipal action.[53]

From the first days of the war, great concern was manifest for the care of the families of the enlisted men. An act of Congress of July 16 authorized "allotment tickets" by which a volunteer might sign over a certain portion of his salary to be delivered regularly to his relatives or dependents. When this scheme was presented to one Minnesota company, nearly one-third of the men made allotments of from three to ten dollars each. Local activities went much further. A mass meeting held in St. Anthony on the twenty-second of April appointed a committee to see that the families of volunteers

[53] *Statutes at Large,* 10:701; 12:270, 326, 509; *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 18, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* August 13, 1861; *Northfield Telegraph,* October 2, 1861. Newspaper reports on the subject of bounties were apt to be very misleading. Unconfirmed rumors of what Congress intended to do were sometimes given the appearance of enacted laws. This may have been due to a desire to stimulate enlistments by making the terms appear as advantageous as possible. Local means of encouraging volunteering seem to have been resorted to from the very beginning. An Illinois law of 1861 authorized the corporate authorities of cities, towns, and counties to levy a five mill tax, and to appropriate such sums as were deemed expedient, "for the purpose of aiding in the formation and equipment of volunteer companies." Illinois, *Session Laws,* special session, 1861, 24. When finally the draft was invoked, localities bent every effort towards preventing its application to them. Volunteers sometimes received so much as a thousand dollars for enlisting, and a class of "bounty-jumpers" was developed, who enlisted for the money there was in it, and then deserted only to enlist again. See Carl R. Fish, "Conscription in the Civil War," in the *American Historical Review,* 21:100–103 (October, 1915).

were provided "with a decent and comfortable support in sickness and in health." Five Minneapolis physicians offered free medical attendance to the families of enlisted men. The city council of St. Paul proposed to guarantee to the dependents of those who went to war a reasonable allowance of support out of the city treasury, and the board of county commissioners appropriated outright one thousand dollars for this purpose. Subsequently there was considerable objection to the supporting of families of soldiers "in idleness and luxury." "One bill," a local paper complained, "was sent in for house rent at the rate of ten dollars per month. We hear another instance where the wife of a volunteer presented at a store an order from the chairman of the Relief Committee, and demanded the finest and most costly articles of shoes for herself and children that could be found in the establishment." But the general feeling, here as elsewhere, was that the state or municipality was under obligations to see that the dependents of soldiers should not suffer.[54]

In many other ways the desire of those who stayed at home to "do their bit" soon made itself manifest. In every town the women organized themselves spontaneously into volunteer aid societies. They gave benefit concerts without number and used the proceeds to purchase towels, handkerchiefs, extra underwear, and the like, for the soldiers. They met afternoons

[54] *Statutes at Large,* 12:271, 331; *Executive Documents,* 1862, p. 29; *Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1861, p. 27; *St. Paul Press,* April 25, August 8, October 3, 31, 1861; *Pioneer and Democrat,* April 28, 30, 1861. The adjutant general of Minnesota suggested that since many soldiers had left their property interests in an unsettled and insecure condition, it would be well for the legislature to provide by law for staying all proceedings against such persons or their property during the time of enlistment. This was done elsewhere, but not at once in Minnesota. Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, p. 90. See also interesting lists of subscriptions made in Wisconsin for the care of families of volunteers, given in William D. Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion,* 128–136 (Chicago, 1866). An informing monograph on this subject is "Social Relief in the Northwest during the Civil War," by Carl R. Fish, in the *American Historical Review,* 22:309–324 (January, 1917).

to prepare sundry-bags containing scissors, needles, thread, and buttons, with which the soldier might keep his garments in a good state of repair. They made with their own hands the flags which were to be carried in battle and presented them formally on days characterized by much oratory and parade and, not infrequently, by banqueting as well. They got the idea that "Havelocks," an indescribable attachment to the ordinary headgear, were an "absolutely necessary head covering for a soldier in a warm climate," and made hundreds of them on the eve of the departure of the First Regiment for the front. "Every gallant soldier of Minnesota," ran one report, "when marching under the scorching sun of Virginia, will bless the ladies of the Society for their timely and self-sacrificing care." The soldiers were decent enough later to write back that the "Havelocks" were "very good things to protect us from the sun," but the sad fact of the matter was that they became considerable of a laughing stock. As winter approached knitting became popular. Mittens were greatly in demand, and long directions appeared in the papers explaining how the work should be done. Mittens with one finger and a thumb were in highest favor.[55]

No sooner had the Ladies' Volunteer Aid Society of St. Paul disbanded, having completed its duties by the making of a thousand "Havelocks," more or less, than it discovered a new field of activities and came to life again. The chaplain of the First Minnesota wrote home that the men were suffering from the want of hospital supplies. Immediately a committee set forth to solicit contributions towards a "hospital fund," and the result of the first day's labor netted some seventy dollars. Public contributions taken up in the churches throughout the state added further to the fund. In St. Paul a festival was planned. De Haven's Circus gave the receipts from one

[55] *Pioneer and Democrat,* April 11, June 16, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* April 14, 25, June 23, November 19, December 24, 1861; *Minnesota Conserver,* (Hastings), August 1, 1861; *Minnesota State News* (Minneapolis), November 16, 1861.

night's performance, and a travelling opera company did the same. Within a few weeks a sum of money had been collected "amply sufficient to meet the wants of the Regiment for a year to come." "Don't kill us with kindness," wrote the chaplain into whose care the fund had been committed. "Tell liberal men and noble women, to send no more money nor clothing." It was characteristic of the unsystematic way in which things were done that the Second Minnesota, then assembling at Fort Snelling, had reason to believe at this very time that its wants were being neglected. Presently, however, the organization of the United States Sanitary Commission gave much needed direction to willing workers and served to eradicate many such difficulties.[56]

Other manifestations of private initiative are not hard to find. The American Bible Society and the Young Men's Christian Association, assisted by private donations, undertook to supply each volunteer with a New Testament. H. H. Sibley sent a check for a hundred dollars to the First Minnesota to be used as the soldiers saw fit, and this started the organization of a regimental band.[57] But for the willing coöperation of individuals, the financing of the war would have proved an insurmountable obstacle, alike in state and nation. Governors borrowed huge sums on their own credit with the expectation that their legislatures would indemnify them, and loans were readily secured on these terms. The adjutant general of Minnesota, whose salary from the state

[56] *Minnesota State News,* July 27, 1861; *St. Paul Press,* July 16, 25, 28, 31, August 13, 15, September 1, November 28, December 14, 18, 1861; *Northfield Telegraph,* July 31, December 4, 1861. The work of the Sanitary Commission was early recognized by the government as appears in the report of the secretary of war, July, 1861, 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 26 (serial 1112). A satisfactory summary of the organization and work of the Sanitary Commission is given by Rhodes, *United States,* 5:244–259. Contemporary literature on this subject is abundant.

[57] *St. Paul Press,* May 1, 2, 3, November 15, 17, 1861. In the early part of the war the band of each regiment was also expected to man ambulances, and pick up the wounded.

was one hundred dollars a year, reported that during the year 1861 between two and three thousand dollars had been paid out by him out of his own pocket for war purposes, or was owing to individuals from whom he had purchased.[58] The governor of Minnesota, to avoid an extra session of the legislature, asked the state treasurer to make further necessary payments from his private funds, which he "generously and patriotically consented to do" to the extent of another three thousand dollars.[59] The contributions of private citizens and corporations throughout the country during the first three weeks of the war were estimated by the *New York Herald* to have reached a grand total of $28,739,000.[60]

It is this exploitation of individual initiative which is the distinguishing feature of the method by which the army of 1861 was raised. The correctness of the volunteer system, which burdened every patriotic citizen with a sense of individual responsibility when victories were not won, was rarely questioned. Even when the draft was invoked in the later years of the war, it was only as a stimulus to enlistments, and the number of conscripts was ridiculously low. Individuals, not officially inspired, assumed the duty of gathering recruits, and of organizing them into minor divisions. Individuals, without the encouragement of a Liberty Loan campaign, dug down into their pockets for the money to provide temporary equipment. Individuals, who never dreamt of the systematic methods of the American Red Cross, contributed funds, gave bazaars, sewed, knit, and even cooked for their own boys and brothers at the front. The state did nothing which the individual could do; the nation did nothing which the state or the individual could do.

[58] Adjutant General, *Reports,* 1862, pp. 88, 229.

[59] Governor's message to the legislature of January, 1862, in Minnesota, *Executive Documents 1861,* p. 5.

[60] Quoted in the *Pioneer and Democrat,* May 7, 1861. The secretary of war, however, claimed in July, 1861, that the amount contributed did not exceed ten million dollars. 37 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 1, p. 23 (serial 1112).

How different it all is to-day. The system which a little more than fifty years ago saved the Union, and vindicated democracy as a safe government for America, if not for the world, is now obsolete. In this war it is the nation which takes the lead, while the individual does what he is told to do. The state authorities, bereft of initiative, have become merely convenient tools in the process of "decentralization." The best of patriots can conscientiously await the result of a federal lottery and an elaborate questionnaire which shall determine whether they go to war or not. Even the making of bandages and the knitting of socks is supervised by some remote authority higher up.

Why all this change? Why has the United States so willingly abandoned long cherished traditions? There is a saying, as true as most generalizations, that "history never repeats itself," and another, that "we learn from history that we cannot learn from history." The conditions under which the Civil War was fought resemble only remotely the present situation. The analogies so commonly drawn are almost invariably misleading. It was possible in 1861 to put green troops in the field with officers no better than the men, for the enemy was doing the same thing. Imagine such an army as McDowell had at Bull Run, or as Grant had at Donelson, in contact with a German division! It was necessary in 1861 to divide the labor of organization among the several states, for a national government so weak that it was compelled to go to war to justify its very existence could hardly be expected to have adequate machinery with which to work. Since the Civil War the same trend towards centralization which has characterized business has also characterized government. To-day it is the national government which has the machinery, and the states that lack it. The points of contrast might be amplified at will. Just as the modern curtain of fire which precedes an advance along the western front differs from the bombardment of the Union lines at Gettysburg before Pickett's charge, by just so much do the conditions under which we

are fighting to-day differ from those of 1861. A new system of raising and maintaining an army had to be invented to meet the new situation. The new machine is full of flaws, and does not yet work smoothly, but the country as a whole approves the invention. The flaws will be corrected. The system adopted can be worked—is already working—and the world will be made safe for democracy. But the methods of 1861 were of little use as a guide for action in 1917. Those "lessons of history" which produced on some minds the vision of "a million men in arms over-night" had to be ignored. Present conditions, not long past experiences, determined how the army of 1917 was to be raised.

JOHN D. HICKS

HAMLINE UNIVERSITY
ST. PAUL

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians, an Indian Interpretation. (The University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 9). By GILBERT LIVINGSTONE WILSON, Ph. D. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1917. x, 129 p. Plates, text-figures.)

Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri. By GEORGE F. WILL and GEORGE E. HYDE. (St. Louis, William Harvey Miner Company, 1917. 323 p. Plates.)

The writer of the first of these volumes began his observations and studies among the Hidatsa Indians in 1906, when he was a Presbyterian minister in North Dakota. During a later pastorate in Minneapolis, he was a student of anthropology in the graduate school of the University of Minnesota, and in this connection, during the years 1912 to 1915, this work was prepared as his doctor's dissertation. It is a translation of the accounts given to the author by Maxi'diwiac (Buffalobird-woman), daughter of Small Ankle, who was leader of the Hidatsa at the time of their removal to what is now Fort Berthold Reservation, on the Missouri River about 75 to 125 miles northwest from Bismarck. Maxi'diwiac's narrations were interpreted by her son, Edward Goodbird, pastor of the Congregational chapel at Independence, in this reservation, whose life story was published by Dr. Wilson in 1914.

For his part in this interesting monograph on Hidatsa agriculture, which is in some degree representative of farming and gardening by many tribes in the northern part of the United States before the coming of the white men, Dr. Wilson claims no credit beyond that for the details of arrangement and of idiomatic expression in the interpreter's translation. "Bits of Indian philosophy and shrewd or humorous observations found in the narrative are not the writer's, but the informant's, and are as they fell from her lips. . . . It is an Indian woman's

interpretation of economics; the thoughts she gave her fields; the philosophy of her labors. May the Indian woman's story of her toil be a plea for our better appreciation of her race."

This narrative has successive chapters on the Hidatsa crops of sunflowers, corn, squashes, and beans, telling how the woman prepared the gardens and fields, and how they planted, cultivated, harvested, and cooked each of these crops, or stored them for winter use and for seed. Tobacco was also cultivated, but only by the old men. The Hidatsa raised nine well-marked varieties of corn, which they kept distinct by planting them in separate fields. The soft white and hard yellow varieties were most extensively raised, as they could be prepared for food in many different ways.

In the second book here reviewed, the authors state that it has been found that fifty varieties of this most useful product in Indian agriculture were formerly raised by tribes in the Missouri Valley. They note the purpose of their researches as follows: "To describe these newly discovered varieties of native corn; and to give some account of the agricultural methods of the Upper Missouri Indians, of their manner of harvesting and storing the crop, of the ways in which they prepared corn for food, of their traditions relating to the origin of corn, and of their corn rites. . . . The work of collecting seed of the old Indian varieties of corn has been very successful; nearly all of the sorts formerly grown by the tribes along the Missouri, from the Platte northward, have been recovered, experimental plantings have been made, and the seed has been rather widely distributed among corn breeders. . . . The work of breeding and crossing these native corns will now be taken up again; and it is to be hoped that hardier and heavier yielding varieties for the Northwest may be produced in abundance."

It is estimated that the Missouri tribes most expert in hunting, as the Kansa, or Kaws, and the Osage, cultivated an average of a third of an acre, planted chiefly in corn, for each person, while other tribes, who depended less on the hunt, averaged about an acre for each man, woman, and child.

Will and Hyde think that the Minnesota Ojibway may have received their corn from the Mandan, a tribe closely related to

the Hidatsa. Schoolcraft says, in the narrative of his expedition to Cass Lake in 1820, that the Indians were cultivating corn in the region of Red Lake, and to a lesser extent on the Upper Mississippi.

As the first among the Sioux to raise much corn, these authors note the Isanti, or Santee people, who, previous to 1750, lived about Mille Lacs, but were driven south to the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers by the Ojibway. Cass and Schoolcraft saw cultivated fields of corn adjoining Little Crow's village, near the site of St. Paul, and on the second day of August, 1820, they attended a ceremonial feast of these Sioux held at that place. This festival was one that was held when the ears were ripe for boiling, and the Indian women presented many basketfuls of the corn to the travelers, who accepted as much as they could store in their canoes.

WARREN UPHAM

Elling Eielsen og den Evangelisk-lutherske Kirki i Amerika. By E. O. MÖRSTAD. (Minneapolis, Folkebladets Trukkeri, 1917. 474 p. Illustrated.)

The student of Lutheranism who seeks information concerning the division into sects which resulted in the Hauge Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Church will find much of interest in this work, which purposes to show Eielsen's sincerity as a Christian and as a pastor and to prove the lack of foundation for criticism passed upon his ordination as a pastor as well as upon his later religious activities. The book opens with an account of religious conditions in Norway and of Eielsen's early work in the Scandinavian countries. Then follows a narrative of his departure for America on July 15, 1839, and his trip across the country through Albany and Buffalo to Chicago, where he preached his first sermon.

A short review of religious conditions in the Fox River settlement, Illinois, and in early Scandinavian settlements in Wisconsin is given as a preface to a discussion of Eielsen's ordination, for it was to minister to this region that he was made, according to Mörstad, the first Norwegian Lutheran minister in America. This is followed by an account of the first meeting of Lutherans

held at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, in 1846, and the adoption of a church constitution. From this place on throughout the volume, differences of opinion and sectarian strife constitute an outstanding theme. These difficulties ultimately resulted in a separation of the religious communities into those who aligned themselves to form the Hauge Synod in 1876, and those who stood firmly by Eielsen and the first constitution, thereby constituting the Evangelical Lutherans.

For the student of history other than religious, Mörstad's *Elling Eielsen* offers little that is of interest, and this scanty material is difficult to find since it is scattered throughout the book, which, unfortunately lacks an index. Short biographical sketches are given of laymen and churchmen who worked both with and against Eielsen in the religious field. Minnesota is seldom referred to. A letter dated North Cape (Wisconsin) January 29, 1863, written by Mrs. Eielsen to her husband who was then in Norway, includes a few details concerning the Indian outbreak in Minnesota. An account of a church meeting which was held in Fillmore County, June 5–13, 1875, deals only with doctrinal controversies. Again, when writing of a visit paid by Eielsen, in 1875, to Pastor Thompson, who had charge of a congregation of ninety families in Lac Qui Parle, the author devotes his attention exclusively to matters religious.

Mörstad makes frequent use of private and church letters and of periodicals, particularly the *Chicago Lutheraneren.* For pioneer history he depends largely upon Langeland's *Nordmaendene i Amerika.* The plan of the book lacks concentration and direct progress of the central purpose. A strong religious and sectarian flavor pervades the whole. One concludes a reading of the book, however, with a belief in the unwavering, stern sincerity of the pioneer pastor, Elling Eielsen, whose activities in America extended even to Texas, but whose main work was done in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota, centering in Chicago where he both began and concluded his religious teachings.

SOLVEIG MAGELSSEN

The Lure of the Mississippi. By DIETRICH LANGE. (Boston, Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard, 1917. [2], 268 p. Illustrated.)

The place long occupied by the novel in the field of historical writing has in recent years broadened out to include juvenile story books in which the plot centers about some actual events. Among the writers contributing to this development is Dietrich Lange, who finds in the history of the Mississippi Valley a storehouse from which he has drawn materials for a series of boys' stories of adventure. In his latest book, *The Lure of the Mississippi,* he uses the circumstances of the Indian uprising of 1862 and Civil War conditions on the lower Mississippi to furnish the background for a narrative of two southern boys, who narrowly escape from the Sioux Indians only to undertake a long and adventuresome trip to their home in the beseiged city of Vicksburg. The author reconstructs for his young readers the life of frontier days and, also, weaves into his narrative bits of wood lore that add to the interest as well as to the value of the book. J. S.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The annual meeting of the society on the evening of January 14, 1918, was the first meeting to be held in the new building. At the business session, which convened in the manuscript room, the following life members of the society were unanimously elected to serve on the executive council for the triennium, 1918–21: Everett H. Bailey, Charles Bechhoefer, Solon J. Buck, Rev. William Busch, Frederick M. Catlin, Lorin Cray, Oliver Crosby, William W. Cutler, Frederic A. Fogg, William W. Folwell, Guy Stanton Ford, Darwin S. Hall, Harold Harris, Frederick G. Ingersoll, Gideon S. Ives, Victor E. Lawson, William E. Lee, William H. Lightner, William A. McGonagle, William B. Mitchell, Charles P. Noyes, Victor Robertson, J. F. Rosenwald, Edward P. Sanborn, Rev. Marion D. Shutter, Charles Stees, Warren Upham, Olin D. Wheeler, William G. White, Harry E. Whitney, and Edward B. Young. Following the business session the society adjourned to the south gallery for the annual address, which was delivered by Dr. Lester Burrell Shippee of the University of Minnesota, on the subject: "Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with Special Reference to Minnesota." This part of the meeting was open to the public and the audience numbered about two hundred.

In connection with its account of the annual meeting of the society the *St. Paul Daily News* published in its issue of January 13, a picture and brief description of the building, together with some account of the moving. Somewhat the same ground is covered in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of January 20. This is accompanied by an exterior and three interior views of the building.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending January 31, 1918: Mrs. Fred A. Bill, C. Edward Graves, Dietrich Lange, Albert R. Moore, and Harold S. Quigley of St. Paul; Miss Medora Jordan and Lester B.

Shippee of Minneapolis; Lieutenant Sydney A. Patchin, stationed at Houston, Texas; Charles H. Budd and Mrs. James H. Gordon of Montevideo; Denver C. Leach of Willmar; and Thomas Bardon of Ashland, Wisconsin. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Hon. Charles E. Otis of St. Paul, November 8; Kenneth Clark of St. Paul, November 11; Hon. Charles Keith of Princeton, November 30; George F. Piper of Minneapolis, December 1; Joseph S. Sewall of St. Paul, December 22; Rev. William McKinley of Winona, January 12; Rev. Arthur E. Jones of Montreal, Canada, January 19; Bishop James McGolrick of Duluth, January 23; and Andrew C. Dunn of Winnebago, January 28.

Occupation of the New Building

The Minnesota Historical Society is experiencing at the present time one of the most important transitions in its annals. Nearly seventy years after its organization by a group of far-seeing men in the first year of the existence of the territory of Minnesota, it is now for the first time installed in quarters adequate to house its collections and activities, specifically designed to meet its requirements, and worthy of its high purposes.

The work of moving the library and other property of the society into the new building began on December 11, 1917. The newspaper volumes and stock of publications, so long stored in the Old Capitol where they were in constant danger of destruction by fire, were taken first. Then followed the moving of the greater part of the newspaper collection in the New Capitol, after which it was necessary to wait until January 3 for the completion of the elevator in the main book stack before the transfer of the general library could be begun. By the end of the month, however, practically all the possessions of the society were in the new building. Before a single book was moved a comprehensive scheme of arrangement was worked out making it possible for most of the books to be put in their proper places on the shelves as they were brought over. In order that service to the public might be interrupted as little as possible, the classes of books most in use were left to the last. On January 10, however, it became necessary to close the reading room in the Capitol,

but the reading room in the new building was opened to the public less than a week later.

Because of delays at factories and in transportation, only a part of the furniture for the building has been received as yet, and it has been necessary to employ a variety of makeshifts. All the departments are in operation, however, with the exception of the museum, which cannot be permanently installed until new equipment is received. As this equipment will not be ready for several months, plans are now being worked out for the temporary display of some of the more interesting museum material.

Dedication of the Building

At the November meeting of the council, Messrs. Charles P. Noyes, Solon J. Buck, Everett H. Bailey, Frederic A. Fogg, and Frederick G. Ingersoll, who as members of the executive committee for the triennium 1915–18, had charge of the society's interests in connection with the construction of the building, were appointed a special committee on dedication. Since the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is to hold its annual meeting in St. Paul on May 9, 10, and 11, the committee decided to arrange for the dedication exercises to be held in connection with that meeting, when a considerable number of distinguished men in the field of history from outside the state will be able to participate. The program for the exercises has not been completed as yet, but it is expected that there will be an afternoon and an evening meeting, at one of which the dedicatory address will be delivered by Frederick Jackson Turner, professor of history in Harvard University. The committee feels that it is most fortunate in securing for this occasion not only one of the foremost historians of the country, but one whose researches and inspiration have contributed especially to an adequate understanding of the significance of the West in American history.

The program for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting, which is being worked out by a committee of which Professor Chauncey S. Boucher of St. Louis is chairman, bids fair to be of unusual interest. This association held its first annual meeting in Minnesota, at Lake Minnetonka, in 1908, and it is eminently fitting that it should return a decade later and

join in dedicating a new building to the cause of history. Programs of both the association meeting and the dedication exercises will be mailed to all members of the Minnesota Historical Society, when they are completed, and it is hoped that every member who can possibly do so will arrange to attend.

Gifts

Mr. Charles T. Andrews of South Bend, Indiana, has presented to the society a copy of the *Genealogical Biography of Charles T. and Mary E. Clark Andrews,* compiled by him, on the inside back cover of which he has pasted a photograph of Owatonna in 1864, showing the main street and the then Fenno residence, now the site of the Burt house, in which he was married and lived during the winter of 1864–65. The photograph also shows in the foreground a caravan of ox-drawn prairie-schooners proceeding down the street.

A collection of ambrotypes of the members of the first legislature of the state of Minnesota, 1858, is a recent gift to the society from two of its life members, Mr. John A. Stees of St. Paul, and his son, Mr. Charles Stees. The pictures were exhibited for the first time at the annual meeting of the society, January 14, 1918, when Mr. Charles Stees made a brief presentation speech.

Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul, who has recently gone into military service, has presented a small but interesting collection of Indian artifacts of stone and copper; also an old flint-lock found near Rock Lake in Crow Wing County, and a curious powderhorn, the history of which is unknown. Mr. John Seibert of Hillman is jointly responsible with Dr. Ferguson for part of these gifts.

An old record book of the German Farmers' Fire Insurance Company of Washington County has been presented by Mr. Henry Vollner of Stillwater. In addition to the treasurer's accounts from the time of the organization of the company, March, 1867, until 1888, the book contains the minutes of two preliminary meetings which were held to provide for and adopt a constitution, the constitution itself, and a list of the members.

Mrs. James J. Hill has presented to the society two museum articles of unusual interest. One is an initial shot from the flag of the First Minnesota Regiment at the battle of Gettysburg, which is accompanied by a copy of the note written to Mr. Hill by Mrs. W. W. Dike at the time she gave him this bit of the old flag, January 6, 1898. The other is a tamarack cane given to Mr. Hill by Simeon P. Folsom of St. Paul. In a letter to Mr. Hill, Mr. Folsom states that when he came to St. Paul in July, 1847, a house, built of tamarack logs, stood at the corner of what is now Jackson and Third Streets. He purchased the building and in it opened the first hotel in St. Paul. In December of the same year he sold the place to Jacob W. Bass, who ran it as the "St. Paul House." The old house was torn down in 1871, after it had served as a part of the Merchants Hotel for a number of years.

NEWS AND COMMENT

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Philadelphia during the holidays, subjects of war interest held first place. The collection and preservation of archival and other material for the history of America's participation in the war was discussed both in the conference of archivists and in that of historical societies. Attention was called also to the fact that the pressure for office space in Washington is resulting in the removal and destruction of archival material, some of which is of great historical value, and resolutions were adopted urging the temporary housing of this material in Washington or nearby, in order that it might ultimately be restored to the permanent archives. The situation which has developed serves to emphasize the short-sightedness of the federal government in not having provided long ago for an adequate archives building. Historical societies throughout the country were urged to coöperate in an effort to prevent the further destruction of historical papers. The association selected Minneapolis as the place for the annual meeting in 1918, but the council was authorized to change the meeting place or call off the meeting entirely if the transportation situation or other conditions resulting from the war should make such action advisable.

The opening article in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December is a suggestive essay on "The Frontier a World Problem," by Carl Russell Fish. Part of this issue is devoted to a translation, with foreword, by Rasmus B. Anderson, of Ole Nattestad's "Description of a Journey to North America." This, with Rynning's "Account of America" in the BULLETIN for November, makes available in English two of the rarest and most important sources for the history of the beginnings of Norwegian settlement in the Northwest.

Two new entrants in the field of local history publications are the *Proceedings* of the Historical Society of East and West

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, volume 1 of which, for 1916–17, has been issued as a *Bulletin* of Louisiana State University; and the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,* a quarterly published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, the first number of which is dated January, 1918. It is estimated that more state and local historical publications of a serial character have been started during the last two years than in any preceding ten years.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has published a biography of *Samuel Jordan Kirkwood,* by Dan E. Clark (1917. 464 p.). The fact that Kirkwood was governor of Iowa during the Civil War, makes it especially appropriate that this volume should appear at the present time when the nation and the states are once more exerting all their energies in preparation for a great military struggle.

Number 7 of *Iowa and War* (January, 1918) is entitled *Old Fort Madison—Early Wars on the Eastern Border of the Iowa Country,* by Jacob Van der Zee (40 p.). It consists of a sketch of early Indian difficulties, the Revolution, and the War of 1812 in the upper Mississippi Valley.

The Washington State Council of Defense has appointed war history committees in each of the counties of the state. These committees are said to be "busily at work gathering newspaper clippings, photographs, manuscript and all other records which will be helpful to a thorough study and understanding of the great events when the war is ended. These records are to be deposited in the most central and most adequate public library in each county. . . . Each committee is also working on the basis of patriotic service by providing funds to meet expenses as they arise in the work." A list of the committees is published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for January.

Prize Essays Written by Pupils of Michigan Schools in the Local History Contest for 1916–17 (1917. 26 p.) is the title of number 9 of the *Bulletins* of the Michigan Historical Commission. This contest, arranged by the Michigan Daughters of the American Revolution and the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, appears to be a very effective device for arousing interest

in local history. The subject assigned was "The First School and the Children who Attended It," in the writer's home city or village.

The American Indian; An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World (New York, 1917. 435 p.) is the title of what appears to be a scholarly summary of the extant knowledge in this field, by Clark Wissler, curator of anthropology in the American Museum of National History, New York. The book contains a valuable bibliography and over a hundred illustrations.

Under the heading, "Men Who Are Winning in the War," *Leslie's Weekly,* for January 12 prints a sketch of Julius H. Barnes of Duluth, now serving as president of the United States Food Administration Grain Corporation. The article is by Samuel Crowther.

In a pamphlet entitled *Erindringer* (1917. 39 p.) John T. Nystuen tells the story of his eventful life from the time he left Norway, in May, 1854, to the present. He includes a description of his voyage from Bergen to Quebec and of his subsequent journey to the Middle West, where, as a pioneer in Wisconsin and Iowa, and later in Minnesota, he experienced the usual hardships incident to the development of a frontier region.

In a work entitled *Danske i Kamp i og for Amerika fra ca. 1640 til 1865* (Omaha, 1917. 397 p.), P. S. Vig discusses the participation of Danes in military events connected with American history. Some of the chapters are concerned with Danish activities in wars "For America in Europe," and "For America" in the colonial period, while others are devoted to the "Danes in the American Revolution," "Danes in the Mexican War, 1846–47," and, lastly, to those who fought in "The Civil War." The book contains a considerable amount of biographical material.

The 1917 number of the *Mistaltenen* contains sketches of some Minnesota Danes in its department headed "Danisk Foretagsomhed" (Danes of Note). This publication is issued annually in the interests of Danish-Americans.

Under the title "Valdriser i Triumph, Minn." the October, 1917, number of the *Samband* publishes Christian Satter's story of his

life from the time he came to Green County, Wisconsin, until he had acquired a large farm in Triumph. Mr. Satter's experiences were typical of those of early settlers with small funds.

The Department of Minnesota, Grand Army of the Republic, has published a pamphlet entitled *The Report of the Committee on the Soldiers' Home* (8 p.), which contains a sketch of the history of this institution from its inception in 1886.

The November 12 issue of the *Freeborn County Standard,* contains several articles of historical interest. An account of "How Albert Lea Got Its Name" is accompanied by a picture of Colonel Albert Miller Lea, whose name was given to the lake from which the city took its name. A sketch of the *Standard* traces the development of that paper from its establishment in 1857 to the present. This is illustrated by pictures of the early editors. An interesting description of Freeborn County in 1857 is reprinted from a contemporary issue of the *Minnesota Star,* which published the article "for the information of those seeking homes in the West, particularly in Freeborn county."

The discovery of a collection of printing samples containing letterheads, billheads, and business cards of former Winona business and professional men prompted William J. Whipple to write a reminiscent article which appears in the December 1 issue of the *Winona Republican-Herald.* Mr. Whipple writes interestingly of men and firms that were prominent in the commercial life of the city a generation ago and concludes with a sketch of the eventful, but unsuccessful, career of the Winona and Southwestern Railroad Company.

In the December 26 issue of the *Mankato Daily Review* Colonel George W. Mead and Benjamin D. Pay tell their recollections of the hanging of the thirty-eight Sioux Indians at Mankato fifty-five years ago. Both men were present at the time; Colonel Mead as a member of the Ninth Minnesota, and Mr. Pay as sheriff. A contemporary picture of the scene accompanies the accounts.

"Local History, Old Crow Wing" is the heading of an article printed in the *Brainerd Dispatch* of December 28, in which the compiler Leon E. Lunn, includes extensive quotations from

William E. Seelye's account of his experiences as a member of the Eighth Minnesota during the Sioux Outbreak. Most of the incidents related center about the early settlement of Crow Wing.

Under the title "Minnesota in the Making" the *Mille Lacs County Times* (Milaca) is printing a series of original narratives of early explorations in Minnesota. Extracts from the accounts of Hennepin, Du Luth, and Radisson have appeared recently.

In commenting upon Sydney A. Patchin's article on "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," in the August number of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, Franklin Curtiss-Wedge reviews the early history of banking in Winona. The *Winona Republican-Herald* of November 24 prints his résumé under the title, "History of Early Bankers Recalls 'Boom' Days When Winona Became Real City."

The November 6 issue of the *Rochester Daily Post and Record* contains a letter from Charles C. Willson, in which he traces the names "College Hill" and "College Street" in the collegeless town of Rochester back to 1856 when plans were made to establish a school, to be known as Huidacooper Institute, in that city.

The *Paynesville Press* of December 6 contains a letter from George R. Stephens, of Oklahoma City, which recounts incidents connected with the establishing of the *Press* thirty years ago.

A biography of James H. Vannet, which is appearing serially in the *Thirteen Towns* (Fosston), describes in some detail the experiences of a Pine County pioneer in the territorial days. Mr. Vannet came to Minnesota in 1841, and the account of his life contains information concerning the relations of the early traders with the Indians and the beginnings of the lumbering industry. The author is W. L. Hilliard.

The *Minneapolis Journal* of January 13 tells of the attempts of early settlers in Minneapolis to stake claims on that part of the Fort Snelling military reserve which is now the business district of the city. A picture of Harwood's old, stone livery stable, which was built on the site of one of these early claims, and one of Second Avenue South in 1857 accompany the article.

Some account of life in pioneer days may be found in a sketch of David Shaver which appears in the *Winona Independent* of November 4. Mr. Shaver came to Dodge County in 1858, and was one of the early settlers in that region.

The *Winona Republican-Herald* of November 1 contains a list of the old settlers in that city and its vicinity who have died in the past twelve years. The compiler is Oliver K. Jones.

An article on "Minnesota Pioneers" appears in the November 30 issue of the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* (Mapleton). The latter part of the article consists largely of the reminiscences of the author, Mrs. O. W. Healy, who recalls incidents of pioneer days in Mapleton.

A suggestive piece of work in the field of local history is a sketch of Twin Valley, which appears in the *Twin Valley Times* of November 28. It was written by Florence Vehle, a pupil in the eighth grade of the Twin Valley schools.

In an article entitled "Chisago County and the War" the *Chisago County Press* (Lindstrom) of December 20 calls attention to the part played by the Scandinavians of Minnesota during the Civil War. In this connection the *Press* reprints from a contemporary issue of the *Hemlandet* an appeal issued by Colonel Hans Mattson "To the Scandinavians of Minnesota," in 1861.

In the August number of the BULLETIN (page 209) attention was called to the story of the "White Squaw of Fox Lake Isle" published in a local newspaper and purporting to be based on an old manuscript. It has since developed that this story was a "brain fancy" as the writer has expressed it, and that the old manuscript never existed.

A number of former residents of Waseca living in Minneapolis met together on the evening of December 15 for a general reunion of the "Old Home Folks." It is planned to make this gathering an annual event.

The Carlton County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Barnum, December 12. An address on the war by Congressman C. B. Miller was the principal speech of the occasion.

Some economic aspects of the "Settlement of Itasca" County are discussed in the December 12 issue of the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review.*

In the issue of October 10 the *Minneapolis Svenska Folkets Tidning* prints an historical sketch of the John W. Thomas Company, one of the older mercantile houses in Minneapolis.

The *New Prague Times* of December 13 introduces a survey of local organizations and commercial interests with a résumé of the history of New Prague.

An interesting sidelight on economic conditions in Minnesota during the Civil War is found in the *St. Peter Free Press* of December 8. This is a list of staples with their wholesale prices in 1865 and their retail prices at the present time. Material for the list was obtained from the books of Auerbach, Finch and Scheffer, St. Paul, for September, 1865.

Under the title "Roses for the Living" the *Le Sueur News* is publishing biographical sketches of men who are leaders in Le Sueur County activities.

A column of "Library Notes" contributed to the *Swift County Review* (Benson) by Ernest R. Aldrich frequently contains material relating to the state's history. The early career of the Universalist Society in Minnesota is discussed in the issue of October 30 in connection with a notice of Rev. Marion D. Shutter's biography of Rev. James Harvey Tuttle. A sketch of General William G. Le Duc and a collection of historical incidents relating to Benson and its vicinity appear on November 20 and 27, respectively.

Students of religious and social history will be interested in the newspaper accounts of special services held by various churches throughout the state, as these articles often include historical sketches of the congregations. A history of the Redwood Falls Methodist Episcopal Church by A. E. King appears in the *Redwood Falls Sun* of November 2 in connection with a description of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church. A list of the pastors of the church accompanies the article, and some reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Ferris

in the November 9 issue of the *Sun* supplement Mr. King's account. The *Alexandria Citizen* in its account of the fiftieth anniversary of the First Congregational Church of that city includes a history of the church and a roll of its pastors. The November 22 issue of the *Sauk Center Herald* contains an account of the work of the Benedictine order in West Union, a work which has extended over a period of twenty-five years and has culminated in the dedication of a new building for the St. Alexius Catholic Church on November 18. Among the articles dealing with Scandinavian churches are the *Fergus Falls Ugeblad's* account of the forty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Fergus Falls Evangelical Lutheran Church in the October 19 issue; a history of the Comfrey Swedish Lutheran Congregation from the time the members left Sweden to the present time, in the *Comfrey Times* for November 29; and a résumé of the twenty-five years of activity of the Mankato Scandinavian Baptist Church in the *Mankato Daily Free Press* of November 28.

Some articles recently published in the section of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa) devoted to "The Old Boats" deserve especial attention from students of early river transportation. A biographical sketch of George W. Gauthier, one of the early rivermen, by Fred A. Bill, is printed in the issue of December 15. On the same date appears an article by Captain George Winans in which he tells of his experiences in trying to use, for the first time, a steamboat to tow log rafts down the Mississippi. This account was read at the December 15 meeting of the Pioneer Rivermen's Association in St. Paul, an extended notice of which appears in the *Post* for December 15. In addition to this special section, the *Post,* in its issues of November 17, 24, December 1, and 8, publishes the log of the steamer "Lilly," which was kept by her engineer, Eben B. Hill, during a trip from St. Louis up the Missouri to Fort Benton, and return, in 1867.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MINNESOTA[1]

No people can pass through a period of abnormal existence without some modification of its fundamental institutions, more or less profound. Even though the period of abnormality be short and the ruffling of the surface of things apparently insignificant, the path of the destiny of that people takes a new turn and never can affairs be put back upon the old footing. Wars rank among the most potent of modifying influences. Nevertheless all wars do not equally produce immediate and perceptible changes in the life of a nation. While more spectacular and politically significant, the American Revolution did not remold the lives of the people of the United States as did the titanic European struggle to eject Napoleon, wherein the War of 1812 was one of the closing chapters.

The Civil War in the United States has been, down to the present conflict in which we are engaged, the most momentous and the most highly significant armed struggle which has wrenched our people out of the beaten track. Leaving out of consideration the political effects of this strife as well as the legal and social results of putting an end to domestic slavery, the student of the period of the war and the years immediately following perceives the rise of new forces in the social order and the submergence of older factors. All portions of the Union, however, were not equally affected. The South, obviously, was most radically modified, both during the war and in the following reconstruction period. Yet the North by no means emerged from the contest unchanged, although it was

[1] An address read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, January 14, 1918.

but little affected by the ravages of contending armies and subject to nothing of the blighting economic depression which spread its pall over all the seceding states.

In April, 1861, the industrial organization of the North was attuned to peace. For four years preceding the fall of Sumter the country had been slowly emerging from the hard times following the panic of 1857, and, but for the political cloud on the horizon, everything appeared propitious for a new era of prosperity. Factories turned the product of the southern cotton fields into cloth, while mines were sending to the smelters the ore which would yield the metal for all the varied industrial demands of an age of steam. Better prices and ample labor stimulated the farmer to produce the food stuffs and raw products which a reviving industry demanded, while good wages made the laborer's position better than anywhere else in the world. To be sure, there were flies in the economic ointment; mutterings about the railroads were later to become articulate; the germ of the subsequent disputes between labor and capital could be discerned by a keen observer; and there were some who questioned whether there might not come a time of reckoning with the problems growing out of the concentration of population which accompanied the factory system. Nevertheless, if the troublesome issues arising from slavery could be compromised away, as had been the case so many times before, it was possible to face the economic future with confidence.

When it was realized, however, that the war was to be something more than a holiday excursion to Richmond, the future began to appear less rosy. The stopping of the cotton supply caused the mills of the North to slacken their activities. Soon, when the accumulated stock of fibre was exhausted, the hum of the spindles nearly ceased, and, while some operators attempted to keep their employees busy with repairs, improvements, and extensions for a time when normal conditions should be restored, many of them were obliged to shut their doors and see their help drift off into other work. Frantic

efforts were made to substitute other fibres, but little success attended these endeavors. Hopes were raised high when portions of the southern coast fell before the exploits of the Union armies and navy, only to be dashed by the meagreness of the bales obtained. Even when New Orleans was captured, only a small amount of cotton was secured. To be sure a little trickled through the lines in exchange for articles needed in the South, even for war munitions in some cases, and this was sold to manufacturers, or more often to speculators, at rapidly mounting prices. Cotton fabrics became so scarce that silks from the Orient could be obtained more easily and more cheaply.

If cotton manufacturing had been dealt a staggering blow, many other industries were inordinately stimulated. All sorts of supplies for the armed forces were in great demand; the metal industries were rushed to capacity; cloth for uniforms was desired in such quantities that the mill-owner stilled for a time his incessant plea for protection and yet more protection. The cry for wool made sheep raising upon the barren hills of northern New England profitable once more, and hundreds of hitherto almost worthless farms were turned into paying sheepwalks. Shoddy came into its own, even though soldiers in the field complained that their uniforms dropped to pieces in a few weeks. Shoes and boots for the army gave an impetus to factory production of these articles which was now possible because of an adaptation of Howe's sewing machine. Leather soared and cattle raising throve.

Whatever surplus of labor was loosed upon the community by the stopping of a few industries was rapidly absorbed by the extraordinary demands in other branches, and soon the cry of shortage in the labor market was heard. This appeal became more insistent as the armies grew and absorbed thousands of young men. Yet, when it is considered that the Union forces were made up principally of boys in their teens and young men in their early twenties, it can be perceived that the greatest part of the labor power of the country was

not turned from productive to destructive activity. Two factors, moreover, served to relieve the labor situation: the substitution of women for men workers, and the use of labor-saving machinery. It was at this time that women began in large numbers to take positions hitherto almost exclusively filled by men; the schoolma'am ruled in the place of the school master, and the female clerk, it was discovered, was as efficient as her brother. Whatever was gained in the economic struggle by women during the war was not relinquished at its close, and furthermore a great impetus was given to the demand for women's equal rights, economic, social, and political.

But if the transition advanced materially the cause of women in certain aspects, it brought other and sadder changes. The need for ready-made clothing stimulated sweatshop methods. Hundreds of women, old and young, pushed to the wall by mounting prices and by the removal of male wage-earners, eked out a bare living sewing for army contractors and sub-contractors at the scantiest of wages. Again Howe's invention, made practicable just before the outbreak of the war, contributed both to rapidity of supply and to heart-breaking toil.

It was in the agricultural field, however, that machinery as a substitute for man power made itself most evident. The armies had to be fed as well as clothed; not only that, but ample allowance had to be made for the inevitable waste which attends military operations. Without the mowing machine, the horse rake, and the reaper it is impossible to conceive how the armies or the civilian population could have been fed, or surplus of wheat raised and sent abroad to help maintain the credit of the United States in the mart of the world. To labor-saving devices, more than to any other one cause, was due the tremendous increase in the production of food stuffs in the fields of western New York and Pennsylvania, and of the Northwest. Still, machines could not take the place of human labor entirely, and while the agricultural West raised no such complaint of shortage of labor as did the manufacturing East,

women had to work in the fields to sow and harvest the crops, particularly in the last two years of the war when the draft was garnering in a constantly increasing number of youths.[2]

It was not enough to produce the food and the other raw products. They had to be transported to the front, to the manufacturing centers, and to the seaboard for export. One of the decisive adverse factors with which the Confederacy had to contend was a most inadequate railroad system, constructed wholly from Northern and European materials, while one of the elements contributing to Union success was a network of lines which not only connected the interior with the seaboard but linked remote communities with the business centers of the North.[3] In the later period of the war some portions of the South were on the verge of starvation while others had an unusuable surplus of food; Lee's army, for instance, was destitute in Virginia when Alabama had all the necessaries in abundance. On the other hand, after it had been gathered at the primary distributing centers by rail or by river boat, the wheat of Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin poured into New York from Milwaukee and Chicago either by rail or by the Great Lakes and the Erie Canal.

The railroads were not slow to realize that they held the whip hand. Prior to the war Atlantic ports competed with New Orleans as outlets for the products of the upper Mississippi and the Ohio; long usage gave the southern port advantages not easily overcome. When, however, the Confederate government realized that the Northwest was going to throw its lot with the Union the Mississippi was closed, and traffic had to be diverted to the welcoming but not necessarily benevolent competitors. They were not averse to making all possible use of their commanding position, to the end that the farmer could complain that an unduly large portion of the fruits of

[2] Frederick Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade,* ch. 1 (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1916).

[3] Carl R. Fish, "The Northern Railroads, April, 1861," in the *American Historical Review,* 22:778–793 (July, 1917).

his labor was absorbed in transportation charges. In no small degree did this extortion add to the already existing dissatisfaction with railroad treatment and precipitate the "anti-monopoly" revolt which came at the close of the war as a precursor to the Granger agitation and legislation of the early seventies.[4]

Not content with the added tonnage and consequent receipts which the closing of the river gave them, the railroads took steps to throttle local river transportation. Wherever the rails tapped a territory which was also served by river boats, cut rates forced the cheaper carrier to lay up, except where a persevering independent continued to carry on a precarious business. Moreover, all possible steps were taken to divert to rail points traffic which logically should have sought non-competitive river facilities. At a time, then, when one would expect that traffic on the upper river and its affluents should have shared in the benefits of war commerce, there came a falling off. For instance, in 1862 St. Paul had the largest number of boat arrivals during the war (1015) exceeded only by those in 1857 and 1858 (1026 and 1068). Thereafter the decline which ensued was continued with occasional spurts of renewed life. What was true of St. Paul obtained at the ports on the smaller streams.[5]

Minnesota necessarily shared in the economic transition which affected the whole Northwest. Yet, inasmuch as Minnesota was still in the midst of her pioneer endeavors, it is difficult to determine with any precision just what should be charged to war conditions and what to a continuing primitive stage of development. When territorial status was proclaimed in 1849 fewer than 5,000 souls lived in Minnesota, but such was the rush to virgin lands that the census of 1860 disclosed a population of 172,022. The next five years saw this number nearly doubled, but in the five years following the war a

[4] Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, ch. 12.

[5] Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, ch. 14; Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 107.

smaller proportionate gain in population was made than in the war era. There were 250,099 persons in the state in 1865, in 1870 there were 440,076. Nevertheless this was an average annual increase of 15.19 per cent, and in the decade from 1860 to 1870 only Nebraska and Kansas had higher rates of increase.[6]

The war did affect the relative proportions of males and females. Whereas in a normal community which has passed through the earlier formative stages the number of females is slightly in excess of the males, in 1860 Minnesota's male population exceeded the female by 8.22 per cent; in 1870 this disproportion had somewhat disappeared for the males were only 6.84 per cent more numerous, yet the state census of 1865 showed that the females were outnumbered by but 5 per cent. In the census returns after 1870 the approach to a normal relation of the sexes demonstrated that pioneer days were rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

As a result of the inpouring of people, despite the ample response of Minnesota to Lincoln's calls for soldiers, there was no such dearth of labor as was experienced, for instance, by her neighbor, Wisconsin. Late in 1863 and during 1864, when more plentiful money accompanied renewed activity, especially in railroad construction and in lumbering, there is some evidence that there was a heavier demand for labor, yet nowhere does there seem to have been such a shortage as was experienced in the agricultural and lumbering states across the Mississippi. Again, while wages increased somewhat between 1861 and 1864, the average for common laborers in the latter year was not as high as in Wisconsin.[7]

In common with all the rest of the United States the increase in wages was not at all proportionate to the rise in prices of all sorts of commodities. There was nothing unusual in the way that prices of necessaries soared during the war; similar

[6] Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1870, p. 116.

[7] Governor's message, January, 1865, in Minnesota, *Executive Documents*, 1864, p. 19; Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, ch. 6.

phenomena have been observed among every people engaged in a great armed struggle. Nevertheless, large amounts of fiat currency issued by the United States served to aggravate the prevailing tendencies. In the West, however, the greenback was not looked upon with the disfavor it encountered in the older portions of the Union. Contrasted with the depreciated notes of state banks, the United States note was indeed the "best money" the West had ever known, and to the local economist there was in it no evil except its limited amount.

State banking, which was usually accompanied by secured and superabundant note issues, forms one of the least pleasing features of the early history of most of our frontier states from the beginning of the century down to the time the national banking act began to operate in full force. Minnesota had not escaped the prevailing passion and had sought to eke out the scanty supply of specie trickling into her commercial channels by authorizing banks to issue upon securities regarded by outsiders with suspicion and not sound enough to prevent great depreciation. The war, however, did not produce so much added disturbance in the exchange value of notes secured by railroad bonds as it did in Wisconsin and Illinois where bonds of southern states had been largely used as a guaranty. In fact, after a time, the war proved a blessing so far as Minnesota's currency situation was concerned. Not only did the greenback afford relief, but the state banks chartered during the war based their issues upon state and national bonds of one sort or another and so inspired a confidence which had been almost lacking previously. But no greater alacrity to take advantage of the national banking act of 1863 was shown by banking interests in Minnesota than was the case in other states. Many new state banks were incorporated but only two national banks had received charters before Congress, in March, 1865, forced all banks of issue to enter the new fold or go out of existence.[8]

[8] Sydney A. Patchin, "The Development of Banking in Minnesota," in the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2: 159–168 (August, 1917).

While relief had come by 1863, the previous two years had been a period of great money stringency in the state. Specie disappeared from circulation as it did all over the United States; money was almost impossible to obtain and exorbitant rates of interest were charged.[9]

Investigation of the agricultural phase of war economics in Minnesota is complicated by the difficulty of determining whether the truly remarkable progress exhibited by the state was a result of the war or came in spite of the war. Undoubtedly there would have been a great development under normal conditions, for, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the earlier steps had been taken and the temporary setback produced by the panic and hard times had been overcome. Untouched lands have ever tempted man to exploitation, and Minnesota's millions of fertile acres have proved no exception to the rule. On the other hand the high prices of wheat and other grains unquestionably stimulated production. Despite the Indian outbreaks and a devastating drouth in 1862 and 1863 the wheat harvest advanced from 5,101,432 bushels in 1860 to 9,475,000 bushels in 1865. As the assistant secretary of state remarked in his annual report, "the development of agriculture kept even pace with the population." Moreover, a high yield per acre encouraged more men to sow wheat.[10]

The new homestead policy of the federal government added to the total available public lands open to settlement. These were already extensive for, in addition to the school and university lands and swamp lands which had been donated to the

[9] One of Ignatius Donnelly's correspondents asks his aid in obtaining the payment of a loan of fifty dollars, the interest on which was three per cent a month. Schriver to Donnelly, November 12, 1862, in the Donnelly Papers. The papers of Ignatius Donnelly comprise one of the larger and more important collections of manuscript material in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. They consist mainly of the letters received by Donnelly, supplemented by his own letter-press books. See *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 1:133 (August, 1915).

[10] Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 9; Commissioner of statistics, *Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress*, 1872, p. 27.

state and territory, enormous grants for railroad purposes, amounting eventually to nearly twelve million acres, were open to purchase or to preëmption. In 1863 a total of 463,296 acres was taken up; this amount increased in 1864 to 665,750, and in 1865 to 804,982 acres. After the close of the war this rate of increase was not maintained; in 1866 a smaller acreage passed into private hands than in the previous year, and in 1869 there was only a slight increase over 1865. *Post bellum* depression and poor harvests in these two years in part explain the falling off.[11]

Minnesota was not unaffected by the prevalent stimulus which was given to certain activities. Naturally those related to some branch of husbandry received the greater attention. Attempts were made to find substitutes for the cane sugar and molasses which could no longer be obtained from Louisiana. Sorghum was the most promising of these substitutes, and it was tried out on a considerable scale. While this plant yielded a syrup of good quality, all efforts to cause it to crystallize into sugar proved fruitless. It was thought that tobacco might be raised and so free the North from dependence on the South for this article, but no very serious attention was given the crop during the war. It was not until the period of high prices in 1868 and the years immediately following that farmers of the Northwest believed there were sufficient prospects of a paying crop to invest much time or money in its growth.[12]

Wool, however, was in a different category. The high price of this commodity early stimulated the Minnesota husbandman to try his luck at supplying a portion of the demand in the hope of securing a share of the enormous profits of the successful sheep raiser. The number of sheep in the state in 1864 was slightly over 97,000. Importations and natural

[11] Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1869, p. 127.

[12] Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, 35–37; Minnesota, *Statistics*, 1870, p. 35. John Wass wrote to his congressman, Donnelly, December 13, 1863, asking for tobacco seed for himself and for the benefit of Minnesota. Donnelly Papers.

increase sent this number to 193,045 in 1866. The high expectations were not realized, however, for in 1869 the number of sheep in the state had fallen to 135,450, while the next year saw another decrease. A report of the state department said, "It will hardly be claimed that even the more moderate expectations respecting the growth of wool have been justified by the results yet obtained; and it is undeniable that this important interest has experienced a serious decline, and labors today under great depression."[13] Experience proved that the lateness of the spring in this northern climate caused the lambing season to come too late for the best development of flocks, and men soon drew out of this branch of husbandry as rapidly as they could.

Next to agriculture, lumbering received the strongest impetus from the war. In common with Wisconsin and Michigan, Minnesota possessed vast resources in standing timber, of which the white pine covering much of the northern portions of this section was considered most valuable. In 1863, after a depression in the first years of the war which was more seriously felt in Wisconsin where greater development had already taken place, the prices of lumber began to jump and continued to rule high. In 1864 the pineries of Minnesota, like those of western Wisconsin, were precluded from taking advantage of the price of twenty-three dollars a thousand in Chicago, by the unusually low water in the branches of the upper Mississippi; but the next year saw a different situation and millions of feet were floated down to market. Peace brought a great slump in the lumber market, and it was not until 1867 that reviving conditions pushed the price even higher than it had been during the war.[14]

The Fifties had, down to the panic, been a boom period for lumbermen, signalized by the concentration of thousands of acres of valuable timber land in the hands of a few operators. The fraudulent use of half-breed scrip, among other means,

[13] Minnesota, *Statistics,* 1869, p. 43; 1870, p. 36.
[14] Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin,* 61–63.

had contributed to the alienation of much public wealth.[15] During the war a stop was put to this easy method of appropriating the public's wealth, but in 1868 a more complaisant secretary of the interior opened the door again and the merry scramble was resumed. Railroad lands, too, offered an opportunity to the energetic and not too scrupulous lumberman, which, coupled with an easy attitude on the part of state officials, further served to build up enormous holdings. A single illustration, by no means extreme, serves to indicate what opportunities lay open to the astute. The firm of Hersey, Staples, and Dean (Hersey, Staples, and Hall after 1866) was organized in April of 1861. When the partnership was dissolved in 1875 each of the three associates was able to take as his third of the accumulated holdings a hundred thousand acres of timber land. Coöperation of state officials, as well as local agents of the federal government, with favored lumbermen also aided the latter, not only to secure the land itself, but, in some cases, to allow cutting of timber at a more than reasonable valuation without the necessity of buying the soil which grew the trees. This was a variant of the scrip frauds.[16]

The war both retarded and promoted the construction of railroads in Minnesota. When the vast land grant to the prospective state was made by Congress in 1857 for the purpose of forwarding the building of lines which should connect distant points with the more settled portions and also link Minnesota up with her neighbors, everybody looked to a period of prosperity even more intense than that which had existed in the preceding few years. But the panic in the same year spelled doom to such anticipations. Although the land was

[15] William W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State,* 112–120 (Boston, 1908).

[16] George W. Hotchkiss, *History of the Lumber and Forest Industry of the Northwest,* 531 (Chicago, 1898); "Report of the Pine Land Committee" (Senate), March 3, 1874, in Minnesota, *Senate and House Journal,* 1874, pp. 541–552; *Testimony Taken by the Committee on Invalid Pensions,* 59 (44 Congress, 1 session, *House Miscellaneous Documents,* no. 193—serial 1707).

granted to companies, it was impossible to secure sufficient money for construction either in the East or in Europe. Land was a drug on the market. State bonds were issued to the chartered companies as the grading of successive strips of roadbed was completed. These were formally like other bonds, but in the minds of the people who had amended the state constitution so that the "credit" of the state might be loaned they were merely a form, for it was intended that the railroads themselves should pay the obligation. New York capitalists, moreover, looked askance at any kind of new securities, especially those which had to do with new enterprises whose returns were problematical. The net result was the defaulting of the railroad companies, while Minnesota had a few score miles of poorly graded roadbed to show for an obligation of nearly two millions known as the "Five Million Loan." The retraction of the amendment of 1858 and a regrant of the lands to newly organized companies in 1861 and 1862, brought the completion of only ten miles of track, and this was the situation when the war had gone on for a year.[17]

The regrant of lands and privileges which the old companies had forfeited, together with easier money, injected some show of life into railroad enterprises, and when 1863 closed there were fifty-six and a half miles ready for operation. The following year saw over thirty miles added and at the end of 1865 over two hundred miles of railroad existed in the state.[18] But to counterbalance this was the alienation of thousands of acres from the public domain, as well as the spectre of that "Five Million Loan," which was to come up year after year until the ghost was finally laid in 1910.[19]

[17] William W. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15: 189–214.

[18] Minnesota, *Statistics,* 1869, p. 105.

[19] In the spring of 1858 the voters of Minnesota adopted an amendment to the constitution providing that the "credit" of the state, to the amount of five million dollars, might be loaned for the purpose of facilitating the construction of railroads. In the following two years $2,275,000 worth of bonds were issued to four companies which had complied with

Except in flour milling and in the manufactures of lumber, Minnesota did not share in the industrial burst of the northern states during the war. Even in these lines, while the proportional increase was impressive, the absolute results were not correspondingly great. The total number of manufacturing establishments rose from 562 in 1860 to 2057 in 1870, yet the capitalization of all these concerns was only $11,806,738.[20] Nevertheless, this showing was not bad for a pioneer state so young as Minnesota, even though the major portion of the increase came in the last half of the decade. Milling of flour and the primary processes of lumber manufacture accounted for more than half the total capital invested and nearly half the number of establishments, while these two lines gave employment to approximately one-third of the persons engaged in industrial pursuits. Some beginnings are seen in the fabrication of sashes, doors, and blinds, furniture, machinery, agricultural implements, carriages and wagons, harness, and a few other articles.

After Lee surrendered in 1865, it took a little time for a society grown accustomed to war conditions to adjust itself again to peace. A temporary economic stagnation accompanied the return of the armies to everyday existence. This slackening was, however, of short duration. The world marvelled at the ease with which a million men who had just laid aside their arms could be absorbed into the economic life of the com-

the requirements by grading nearly two hundred and fifty miles of roadbed. The companies, however, failed to fulfill other obligations and the governor was forced to start foreclosure proceedings which resulted in the transfer of all their privileges and property to the state. The bonds, which had greatly depreciated in value, were in form an obligation of the state, but all attempts to secure payment were of no avail until 1881 when provision was made for the issue of Minnesota state railroad adjustment bonds in exchange for the old ones. The liquidation of these refunding bonds was completed in 1910. Folwell, "The Five Million Loan," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15: 189–214; Rasmus S. Saby, "Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 15: 30–49.

[20] Minnesota, *Statistics,* 1870, p. 63.

munity, causing scarcely a ripple upon the surface of the social fabric. Minnesota, in common with the rest of the states of the West, was an important factor in the process. Her vacant and inviting lands, which could be obtained for a trifling cash investment plus a large amount of energy, fortitude, and patience, stood ready to receive all those who were unwilling to return to their old homes to try to fit themselves into a situation which had grown strange in their absence. The population of the state increased between 1865 and 1870, by nearly two hundred thousand, while the taking up of railroad, state, and federal lands kept even step with the march of the inpouring flood.[21]

It was not, however, returning soldiers alone who swarmed to Minnesota. Up to 1865 the population elements of the state were not much dissimilar from those of her neighbors of the Northwest, or for that matter, of the whole North. In 1860 something over two-thirds of the inhabitants were of native birth. Those of foreign birth, who totalled 58,728, were mostly Irish, Germans, English, and British Americans, just about the same racial elements to be found anywhere from New York to the Mississippi. In 1864 the legislature enacted a law to "organize a system for the promotion of immigration to the State of Minnesota" in order to offset the further drain which might be anticipated on account of the war, as well as to secure settlers for waiting prairies. Pamphlets in the English, German, and Scandinavian tongues were printed and spread broadcast to picture the possibilities of the region as well as to remove many misapprehensions as to the soil and especially the climate. Beginnings of Scandinavian immigration had been made as early as the late Fifties, but in 1860 this element comprised less than 12,000 of the 172,000 people in the state. These, like the Germans, had for the most part moved on from Wisconsin. But the seed had been planted. The watering came when a board of immigration was created

[21] Commissioner of statistics, *Minnesota: Its Resources and Progress,* 1870, p. 31.

in 1867, with Hans Mattson its secretary. Mattson held the position of land agent for one of the railroads which traversed some of the most desirable portions of the state, hence he was able to give definite directions as to favorable points for settlement.[22] Perhaps to this man, more than to any other one factor is due the great Scandinavian migration to Minnesota. In 1870 Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes comprised thirteen and one-half per cent of the population, and had already begun to impress upon the state an indelible mark. In 1860 there had been only half as many Scandinavians as there were in Wisconsin; by 1870 Minnesota had over fifty-nine thousand as against Wisconsin's forty-eight thousand. The Swedes alone were pressing close to the lead of the Irish, and in a year or so overtook and passed this element. Only the Germans could rival the Scandinavians and even they comprised but 48,457 souls as against 59,390.

When men return to the primitive passions brought by war there is necessarily a loss of much of the hardly won refinement which can be a product of peace alone. How long after the struggle there will be seen the results of this relapse is a matter difficult of determination. All students of the Civil War, however, have noted that the years immediately following 1865 presented an unusual number of examples of low public morality. This was the period when the Whisky Ring was profiting at the expense of the federal government, and when federal officers connived at gross irregularities as well as shared in the profits. The Crédit Mobilier not only was an example of "high finance" in railroading, but it served to blast several public careers as well as to sully the reputations of prominent men who were not completely overwhelmed by the public wrath which followed exposure. The manipulations of the Tweed Ring in New York, aided by its intimate relation with certain Wall Street interests, exemplify in an exaggerated degree, perhaps, the degradation into which most of the larger

[22] Secretary of state, *Annual Report*, 1866, p. 113; Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences, the Story of an Immigrant*, 97–100 (St. Paul, 1891).

municipalities had fallen.[23] The whole civil service of the United States had become so honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency that the reform element of the Republican party could, in its campaign from 1870 to 1872, urge with great force the need of a complete housecleaning. The old guard itself could not present any defense and was forced to adopt at least in form the principles of the reformers.

It would be easy to say, of course, that all this array of horrible examples, which was exposed to view in investigation after investigation from about 1870 on, could be parallelled at many other times in the history of this country or of other nations. It might be said that every now and then a people has a spasm of reforming zeal and while in this mood can find evidences of corruption and laxity if it looks with sufficient care; that the period, say from 1872 to 1875, was just one of these periods. Furthermore it might be added that a panic followed by hard times is likely to produce soul searching on the part of a stricken population; religious revivals vie with judicial and legislative investigations.

Still this does not wholly dispose of the case. Not alone in the United States after the Civil War, but in Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, for instance, keen observers noted a recklessness, an abandon, which characterized the economic and social life of the people. Everybody was enjoying good times, nobody was interested in counting pennies or in inquiring too carefully into the doings of his neighbor so long as his own particular activities were not interfered with. In such times the public official who inclined to make the most of his position could pursue his course without much fear interruption, while the man who desired to remain honest was sorely tempted when he perceived the ease with which he, too, might

[23] Charles F. Adams, "A Chapter of Erie," in Charles F. Adams Jr. and Henry Adams, *"Chapters of Erie, and Other Essays,* 4–99 (Boston, 1871); Charles F. Wingate, "An Episode in Municipal Government," in the *North American Review,* 119:359–408; 120:119–174; 121:113–155; 123:362–425 (1874–76).

profit in the way others were doing. There is no doubt that the later years of the war and those immediately following were permeated with this spirit, and that public opinion was generally inclined to laugh at the "smart" man more than to be indignant at pilferings or gigantic steals. Our civilization is too thin and too recent a veneer to stand much hard rubbing, and war rubs hard. Moreover, the veneer cannot be renewed immediately after the struggle ends.

Did Minnesota experience any of this general laxity which followed the war? If evidences are found shall they be attributed to a continuation of pioneer times, when there is a certain lack of regard for the finer products of civilization, such as the perception of more delicate degrees of public morality; or shall they be accounted for by the fact that Minnesota shared with the rest of the conquering North in a debauch of moral let-down? It would be hard to give a categorical answer to such a question. It may be said, however, that the late Sixties and the early Seventies saw a sufficient development of Minnesota to warrant confident belief that the worst aspects of the pioneer stage ought to have been things of the past. Nevertheless there are many indications that a deplorable laxity, if nothing worse, permeated the community and manifested itself in various irregular transactions.

One of the most spectacular of the revelations enjoyed by the newspaper reading public was that attending the Seeger Investigation and impeachment. It must be said at the outset that the legislature of Minnesota, by paying the state treasurer a salary of only one thousand dollars a year, actually, if not deliberately, encouraged all sorts of irregularity. It appeared that for years before this investigation, which came in 1873, the state treasurer was accustomed to "loan to and let bankers and business firms have the use of large sums of the State fund" as well as to draw upon the county treasurers for moneys not yet due and have personal use of such funds, sometimes for many months. Furthermore the books of the treasurer's office were in such a condition that it was impos-

sible to obtain an adequate idea of the financial status of the commonwealth. When there came a change in the treasurer's office the new incumbent, who happened to be the father-in-law of the outgoing treasurer, concealed the fact that large sums belonging to the state were not actually turned over, although subsequently the deficit was made up.[24]

Such an opportunity as this to attack the party in power was not to be overlooked by the Democratic "outs," and this attack in turn provoked other revelations. It was discovered that county treasurers were also in the habit of failing to regard the distinction between the public funds and their own money.[25] They loaned the county's money to banks and other business firms, and in some instances, at least, received the interest themselves. It was further charged that sometimes bank officials had exerted themselves to secure the election of a particular man as county treasurer, and if the campaign proved successful the bank was not the loser. And then, when a leading Republican paper could seriously argue that nobody of men would convict a man for shielding his son-in-law, there is evidence that the standard of public morals was not overly high, to say the least.[26]

The disclosures made in 1873 were followed by equally sensational ones the next year. Just before the Seeger Investigation had lifted the lid, the *St. Paul Daily Press* had reviewed the various departmental reports submitted to the

[24] *Report of the Special Senate Investigating Committee, Appointed to inquire into the Condition of the State Treasury,* 5–7 (St. Paul 1873); *Proceedings of the Senate of Minnesota, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment for the Trial of William Seeger, Treasurer of State* (Minneapolis, 1873).

[25] The *St. Paul Daily Press,* in its issue of February 27, 1873, affirmed that this was happening in all the Democratic counties, and admitted that the same thing might have occurred in Republican counties as well.

[26] *St. Paul Press,* March 6, 8, 1873; *Report of the Special Senate Committee, Appointed to Investigate the Management of the Office of State Auditor, prior to January, 1873,* 55 (1875). In February, 1874, William Murphy wrote that "there is something rotten in the management of county affairs." Murphy to Donnelly, February 4, 1874, in the Donnelly Papers.

legislature, and, among other comments, took particular pains to felicitate the state upon the efficient service rendered by the state auditor. He "closes an administration," the *Press* remarked, "which has been substantially coextensive with the ascendancy of the Republican party in his State, embracing in its four official terms a period of twelve years, with a terse statistical record of the varied questions during that time of the more important departments of the State Government under his control, which will form an enduring memorial of the general economy, prudence and beneficence which have, on the whole, characterized the management of State affairs by the Republican Party, and of Mr. McIlrath's own conspicuous and honorable share in its marked successes."[27]

The McIlrath Investigation of 1874 demonstrated the truth of the statement made by the *Press* about the "conspicuous" share of the late state auditor. It was found that the auditor, in performing his functions as land commissioner, had been in the habit of accepting notes secured by a lien upon logs cut instead of cash payments for timber sold to lumbermen. In many instances before any payment was made the logs would have been disposed of. He sold timber at far below the market price; he connived at agreements among prospective purchasers of standing timber whereby there was no competition in bidding; he had kept in his own name and had received the interest on bonds purchased with money from the school fund, although eventually the bonds were credited to the fund. All the accounts of these, as well as other transactions were kept in such an ill-ordered manner that McIlrath himself testified before the investigating committee that he could not explain them. In all a sum of not less than one hundred thousand dollars was unaccounted for, as a result of "irregularities" beginning at least as early as 1866. In addition to the above, McIlrath had acquired, in 1868, an interest in a firm which entered into a contract with the state for the purchase of the

[27] *St. Paul Press,* February 1, 1873.

right to cut timber on some thousands of acres of university lands. It is no wonder certain lumbermen were anxious for the reëlection of McIlrath at a time when some opposition seemed to be developing, especially when it is considered that, in addition to reasons which may be suspected from the foregoing statements, there had never been a prosecution of trespassers upon the state timber lands during his incumbency. As a matter of fact, the committee found that "extraordinary inducements were held out to parties to cut timber as trespassers."[28]

Give all allowance possible to frontier conditions, grant every excuse to the men engaged in the task of opening a new land, and still there remains evidence of a sadly deficient sense of public morality. When we find all over the North similar conditions which cannot be explained by primitive necessities, the conviction grows that there was something abnormal in the atmosphere. Add to this the testimony of men high in the public estimation of the time, as well as the word of those who have sought an explanation of the social phenomena of that day, and even the naive confessions of that sanctimonious old railroad pirate, Daniel Drew, and it is impossible to conclude that some portion of the explanation is not to be found in the war and its aftermath.[29]

If the Civil War teaches that such a social cataclysm stirs the mud in the depths of the pool, it also reveals the fact that men are stimulated by it to reëstimate all social values. Along side the loosing of the baser propensities of mankind there comes

[28] In the *Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Management of the Office of State Auditor* the above facts are brought out in the formal report of the committee as well as in the testimony accompanying the report.

[29] Bouck White, *Book of Daniel Drew, A Glimpse of the Fisk-Gould-Tweed Régime from the Inside,* 161 (New York, 1910); George W. Curtis' speech to the New York State Republican Convention, March 22, 1876, in the *New York Tribune,* March 23, 1876; speech of George F. Hoar in the *Congressional Record,* 44 Congress, 1 session, vol. 4, part 7, p. 63; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* vol. 7, ch. 1.

a renewed interest in many of those problems whose roots have been slowly entwining themselves about the inmost parts of our social structure. From 1865 down to the panic of 1873 the labor world was shaken by notable convulsions. Unionism, which had had a precarious existence up to the time of the war, advanced with remarkable strides. Educational questions, including the problem of the education of women, were receiving new attention. The temperance movement gained a wider following. The same stimuli that induced reflection along these lines served in time to turn thought to the corrupting sores which had developed in the social body. Those who would renovate an educational system or seek to find the true relations between capital and labor were not long content to tolerate in silence those blots upon our political organization which anyone could perceive if he stopped to observe.

In times like these one naturally desires to learn whether it is possible to draw upon the experiences of the Sixties for guidance in our present crisis and in the years which are to follow the War of 1917. Unfortunately, perhaps, it appears that general conditions are so dissimilar that little of a positive nature can be found. Among the more striking differences may be noted the fact that the Civil War in no way depleted the world's accumulated store of products as the present war is doing. The South was impoverished by the conflict and even yet has not recovered all the ground lost, but the resources of the North were not drained to an appreciable extent. This was due in part to the fact that so great a portion of the country was as yet untouched. Natural resources undreamed of in 1865 were to be discovered as the years passed, as, for example, the iron mines of Minnesota. Even more it was due to a failure to destroy on such a colossal scale as that on which the world now destroys.

America, after the close of the Civil War, offered to the people of the world an opportunity unequalled elsewhere. Migration on an unprecedented scale, arrested temporarily by economic depression in the Seventies and again in the Nineties,

sent workers to develop untouched possibilities. When the present war closes America will no longer be the outlet for the land-hungry people of Europe. Some less desirable remnants of land will be found here and there, but, except in parts of Canada, the land will not be given away to the asker. Furthermore, it is even a question whether there will not be a reverse process. There are indications that there may be a movement back to Europe which will most decidedly affect our future social and economic life.

The Civil War does not help us to see our path in matters of collective control of transportation, food, fuel, manufactures, or in any of the vital problems with which we are now grappling under abnormal conditions but which we shall find ourselves unable to drop the moment peace is declared. We shall find that we have clasped the handles of an electric machine the current of which will paralyze our efforts to relax our muscles. The world has gone far since 1865 in its ideas of the relation of the individual to the community.

There is, however, one ray of light which the earlier war and its effects throw upon existing and future problems. The partial economic emancipation and consequent general advance in status gained by women during the Rebellion was not lost when peace came. It can confidently be stated that what is being gained now will be retained; not only that, but it will serve as another stepping stone toward political, social, and economic equality with men. We shall not go back.

Could we predict with equal confidence along other lines it would be possible to guide our activities today in such a manner that the grosser blunders might be avoided. But, after all is said and done, about the extent of safe prophecy is this: war, under modern conditions, unsettles many if not most of our institutions; it is as futile to dream of getting back to the world in which we lived before 1914 as it is to believe we are in the last month by failing to tear a leaf from the calendar. Nevertheless, it will be the aim of many people to execute just this reverse. If the Civil War brings home the lesson

that it caused men to modify their course and that when it was ended society was marching in a somewhat different direction than it had been before, then it is possible to keep in mind that the same thing will be true when this war ends, with this sole qualification: there can be no comparison in the magnitude of the change.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SCANDINAVIANS IN AMERICA.

In recent years a considerable amount of scholarly research has been carried on in the field of the history of the Scandinavian element in the United States. An illuminating illustration of the opportunities open to the scientific historian is afforded in Dr. John O. Evjen's recently published book, *Scandinavian Immigrants in New York, 1630–1674.* That this field has been but little cultivated need scarcely be pointed out. Topics important as well as attractive await the attention of the investigator. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that a great deal of carefully prepared monographic literature must be produced before a definitive general treatment of the subject can be written. The industrial or economic history of a specific group of Scandinavians, or of that element as a whole, in the Northwest, or in a single state of the Northwest; a study of their political influence, similarly restricted in scope; an investigation of some of the ramifications of the process of amalgamation, perhaps particularly in the direction of church affiliation or religious tendencies; various aspects of their church history; biographies of leaders in diverse fields of activity; studies placing emphasis upon social and general cultural factors in the development of Scandinavian life in the United States; the problem of the significance of the Scandinavians in the American westward movement: all these topics serve merely to suggest profitable subjects for monographic study.

An undertaking necessarily preliminary to such research is the comprehensive collecting of the materials for the history of the Scandinavian element. In fact, this may well be regarded as a matter of far more immediate importance than

intensive research. Would it not be wise to attempt to assemble at some central depository the rich sources which at present are scattered throughout the Northwest and elsewhere? Not a little of this material is now located in the libraries of numerous denominational colleges; much of it is to found in private collections. Some of it, fortunately, is accessible to students and is well cared for by persons who realize its historical value. But it is to be feared that a far greater amount —particularly of manuscript materials, collections of letters, diaries, and other valuable papers—is in the possession of persons having little or no appreciation of its significance, and is consequently neglected and in serious danger of destruction from disintegration, fire, and other causes. The immigration is on the whole comparatively recent. Much valuable source material is therefore contemporary or nearly so, and in many cases it is difficult to draw any clear cut line between primary and secondary materials. Important chapters in the fascinating story of the Scandinavians in the new world, of their dissemination throughout the country, of their social, political, economic, and religious life, will ultimately have to be reconstructed from the kind of materials now largely neglected. The permanent loss of these precious records would prove a calamity no less unnecessary than historically unfortunate. In this connection, the story of a journal written by one of the early leaders in the movement of immigration to America is of interest. When Ansten Nattestad left Illinois in 1838 on a journey to Norway via New Orleans and Liverpool, he carried with him the manuscripts of Ole Rynning's famous "America Book" and Ole Nattestad's account of his observations and experiences. Both of these were published in Norway as small books and had a considerable influence upon emigration in the following years. For many years scholars have been searching for a copy of Nattestad's book. Nattestad himself lived to be an old man, and it appears that in the Eighties he gave to the editor of *Skandinaven* a manuscript copy of his book which he had preserved. Shortly thereafter

the editor's home was destroyed by fire, and with it the manuscript. In 1900 two sons of Ole Nattestad located a printed copy while on a visit to Norway. In January, 1916, this copy was secured by Mr. Havlor L. Skavlem who turned it over to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. As Ole Nattestad was the first Norwegian settler in the state of Wisconsin this was fitting. Moreover it is most fortunate that the book will now be permanently preserved, since, so far as is known, it is the only copy in existence. The title will at once indicate its great interest as a document of the early immigration: *Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerica, begyndt den 8de April 1837 og skrevet paa Skibet Hilda samt siden fortsat paa Reisen op igjennem de Forenede Stater i Nordamerica, af Ole Knudsen Nattestad fra Nummedal* (Drammen, 1839. 31 p.).

The loss of this book would probably have been irretrievable. Beyond question there are hundreds of other documents, printed or manuscript, which will be lost permanently if no organized effort is made to insure their preservation. They may not have the peculiar significance that the Nattestad pamphlet possessed, but may, however, have real value. Is it not a proper time to agree upon some well formulated, comprehensive plan for the care of these sources? The problem involves more than the gathering up of materials in imminent danger of loss or destruction. The student who undertakes serious study in the field of Scandinavian-American history is confronted with the perplexing task of utilizing sources which are scattered about in dozens of places, many of them difficult to reach, few of them centrally located. This has acted, naturally, as a deterrent upon scholars attracted by the subject matter and has likewise proved a cause of incomplete and unauthoritative work. Moreover it is well-nigh impossible to ascertain precisely what may be found in the various depositories, a condition due not merely to an absence of published lists or descriptions of materials, but also to a lack of adequate cataloguing. A more serious defect in the present system,

however, is that few of the small libraries have adequate vaults or fireproof rooms in which to preserve their collections, and it must be remembered that much of this material can not be duplicated. This of course holds true more especially of manuscripts. Finally, the small college libraries are usually handicapped by a lack of financial resources and of library equipment.

The solution of the problem is to centralize these Scandinavian materials in some depository which gives assurance of being a permanent institution and which has the resources necessary to an extensive effort in accumulating a great collection of printed and manuscript documents, and to an adequate and scientific care of the materials which it secures. It must arrange the manuscripts, repair and restore the damaged and indistinct papers, carefully index them, publish bibliographies, descriptive lists, and calendars. Furthermore, under competent editorial direction it must undertake the publishing of important manuscripts in its possession. It must above all be centrally located in order to allow extensive utilization of its collections by students and investigators.

The great bulk of the Scandinavian population in the United States is in the Northwest, and the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, form the heart of this region. Here are centered many of the agencies—religious, social, and industrial—which embrace in their scope the great mass of Scandinavians in America. Here gather most of the great annual conventions of their organizations. Here, too, are situated not only the University of Minnesota, but a number of the more important Scandinavian denominational colleges. In many respects Minneapolis and Saint Paul may be considered the cultural center of these people in the United States. Not long ago Dr. Vincent as president of the University of Minnesota declared his intention of striving to make that institution the center for Scandinavian study in this country, a proposal which elicited wide spread endorsement among educators. By its activity as well as its location the university may be considered

in a fair way to accomplish its expressed purpose in this respect. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Twin Cities should logically be the Mecca of historical investigators in this field, and that, all things considered, here is a proper place to build up a great, permanent library of the records of the Scandinavians in America.

The Minnesota Historical Society, situated in Saint Paul, has recently made a declaration of policy which gives promise of a successful solution of the problem. As a state historical society this institution has fittingly specialized in the collecting of materials relating to the history of the Northwest, and particularly the state of Minnesota. During the period since its founding—soon seventy years—the society has grown to be one of the greatest institutions of its kind in the United States. A magnificent and commodious fireproof building, costing in the neighborhood of a half a million dollars, has just been erected by the state for the purposes of the society. In 1915 the superintendent of the society declared that the institution would bend its efforts toward the building up of a great library of Scandinavian materials. This, in his opinion, is an undertaking peculiarly appropriate for the Minnesota Historical Society, because of the significant part played by Scandinavians in the history of Minnesota and of the Northwest. Just as it is proposed to make the university a great center for the study of the Scandinavian countries, their languages and literatures, so it is intended to make the society a center for the study of the Scandinavians in this country. The society has proceeded vigorously to carry out its policy. Already the recipient of the principal newspapers and periodicals published by the Scandinavians in the United States, it has begun the task of collecting files of old papers and magazines, reports of religious organizations and educational institutions, as well as books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. An arrangement has been effected with the University of Minnesota whereby the latter is to cultivate the field of the Scandinavian countries, languages, and literatures, and turn over

to the society its materials on the Scandinavians in this country. As a consequence of this arrangement the society has acquired the extensive O. N. Nelson collection of periodicals, newspapers, books, and pamphlets. Formerly one of the most comprehensive private collections of its kind, this has now been arranged and catalogued, and forms the nucleus of what, it is hoped, will become a special library unparalleled in America. Other important acquisitions, both printed and manuscript, have been made, and the materials will ultimately be put in charge of a trained librarian familiar with the Scandinavian languages and with the history of the Scandinavians in this country.

The success of this undertaking must depend largely upon the degree of coöperation accorded it by individuals and organizations having at heart the preservation of these records. No less noble and thrilling than the story of the Puritan fathers is this history of the vast wave of Scandinavian immigration to the West. The environment in the old world, the eventful voyage to the new, the dissemination throughout the continent, the breaking of ground, the building of homes and churches, the beginning of educational activity, the establishment of a position in labor and industry, the gradual entrance into American life in all its multiform phases: these are elements in an epic half untold, glorious in its recital of achievement, and full of inspiring lessons. Surely we can not do less than preserve for posterity the extant records of this great movement. Let us adopt a mature plan, based upon sound, scientific principles, and thus insure for future generations the priceless treasures of the past and the present.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

RIVERSIDE HIGH SCHOOL
MILWAUKEE

REV. ARTHUR E. JONES

Rev. Father Arthur Edward Jones, archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, Quebec, died in that city on January 19, 1918. As archivist of the Jesuits he possessed unrivalled opportunities for historical investigation which he utilized to good purpose in the publication of much material bearing on the story of the early explorers and missionaries of his order. He was associated with Dr. Thwaites in the editing of the *Jesuit Relations* and made important contributions to that great work. His more important work, however, was in connection with the missions to the Huron Indians around the Georgian Bay. His work took two main lines, to find the sites of the chief mission stations and to record the services of all who had any part in those mission enterprises. The results were set forth in the *Fifth Annual Report* of the Ontario Archives Department in 1909 under the title "Huronia," bringing together practically all the data he had unearthed with regard to these missions. The volume is an indispensable work of reference to anyone studying Jesuit activity in America in the seventeenth century. Of late Father Jones had been working more or less on the linguistic writings of Father Potier, the originals of which, in five bulky volumes, are in the archives of St. Mary's College. These writings, made at a time when the Huron tongue was at the height of its use, were to have been issued in photo-facsimile by the Ontario Government and this plan, held up by the war, will probably be carried through when peace comes. Father Jones was a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, a member of several of the historical societies of the United States, and was honored a few years ago with the degree of Doctor of Laws of the University of Toronto.

FRED LANDON

LONDON, ONTARIO

REMOVAL OF THE SIOUX INDIANS FROM MINNESOTA.

The demand from the people of Minnesota that the Sioux Indians be removed beyond the boundaries of the state came as a natural result of the horrors of the Sioux outbreak in August, 1862. Ignatius Donnelly, the lieutenant governor, in a report of the massacre made to Governor Ramsey as early as August 29, declared that the Indians "must disappear or be exterminated." The reason he gave was that otherwise immigration to the state would stop. The commissioner of Indian affairs in his formal report to the secretary of the interior in November spoke of the "exasperation of the people of Minnesota," and the secretary himself urged that the government abandon its policy of treating the Indians as quasi-independent nations with whom treaties must be made, that it recognize in theory what had long been the practice, that the Indians were to be moved on whenever their lands were needed by advancing settlements.[1]

The general policy advocated by the secretary was not adopted at this time, but as soon as Congress met the specific problem of the removal of the Indians from Minnesota was taken up. Mr. Windom secured the adoption by the House of a resolution by which the committee on Indian affairs was "instructed to inquire as to the most speedy and economical mode of removing beyond the limits of the State of Minnesota all the Indian tribes within said state."[2] In the end the Chippewa were not interfered with at this time, but an act approved February 16, 1863, declared that the Sioux by "most savage war upon the United States" had lost all their treaty rights, and that "all lands and rights of occupancy within the State of Minnesota . . . be forfeited to the United States." This was followed by an act authorizing the president to remove the Sioux

[1] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1862, pp. 7, 22, 68.
[2] 37 Congress, 3 session, *House Journal,* 10 (serial 1155).

Indians to "a tract of unoccupied land outside of the limits of any state."[3]

From this action one might think that there was in Minnesota a formidable band of Sioux Indians. This was not at all the case. Of the 6,600 annuity Sioux of the Mississippi, only about eighteen hundred had surrendered to General Sibley; the rest had escaped to Dakota or Canada. Of the eighteen hundred, over three hundred were held as prisoners in a camp near Mankato. The others, who were at Fort Snelling, were the only ones to whom the law could be applied. Of these, Galbraith, the Indian agent, wrote January 27, 1863: "there are only sixty men, and those mostly old ones." It was this band of women, children, and old men which was deported in 1863.[4]

One of the best friends the Indians had at this time was the Presbyterian missionary Rev. Thomas S. Williamson, who had worked among the Sioux since 1835. When the Indians were rounded up by Sibley the missionary called to his aid his son, John P. Williamson, who at the time was teaching school in Indiana. Early in 1863 this son received from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions the appointment to go with the Sioux to their new home for permanent work among them. An account of his journey with these poor Indians, contained in a letter written to his mother, was found in a collection of Williamson papers recently presented to the Minnesota Historical Society. This letter, printed below, contains information about the circumstances of the trip and the conditions under which it was performed.

FRANCES H. RELF

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[3] United States, *Statutes at Large*, 12:652–654, 819.
[4] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1863, p. 296.

JOHN P. WILLIAMSON TO HIS MOTHER, MAY 13, 1863

[Williamson Papers—A. L. S.]

ST. JOSEPH MO. MAY 13, 1863

MY DEAR MOTHER,

I am glad to have the time to write you a few lines, for I know you will be anxious to hear how we are getting along. For myself I am in very good health in deed, and the Indians with us are as well as when we started. There was one small child died and we buried it at a wood yard a little below Burlington, Iowa.

You will have heard long ago some things about us starting. 770[5] left on Monday the 4th of May in the Steamboat Hannibal.[6] They were all Lower Sioux.[7] Mr Hinmann[8] and Thos. A Robertson[9] went with them and I waited till the next day about dark when the rest got on board the Northerner. There were 540 of them.[10] We also left about 200 who were going to be let go around with the Scouts.[11] Among those we left

[5] There were 762 Indians according to the *St. Paul Daily Press* and the *St. Paul Pioneer* for May 5, 1863. The *Press* adds that in the whole company there were only about fifty men.

[6] The St. Paul papers state that "Davenport" was the name of the boat.

[7] They included the bands of Wabasha, Good Road, Wakute, Passing Hail, and Red Legs. *St. Paul Press,* May 5, 1863.

[8] "The Rev. S. D. Hinman, a zealous missionary to the Dacotahs, who was in charge of the Mission of St. John at Red Wood, at the time of the breaking out of the Indian War, accompanied the Indians who left on Monday evening in the steamer Davenport, and will remain in charge of them on their new reservation near Fort Randall, Missouri."—*St. Paul Pioneer,* May 6, 1863.

[9] Thomas A. Robertson is listed as a half-breed in the census of the Indian camp at Fort Snelling taken December 2, 1862. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1863, p. 316.

[10] The *St. Paul Press* of May 6 gives the number as 334. The same account adds that they consisted of the bands of Taopi, Eagle Head, and Yellow Medicine.

[11] In May, 1863, General Sibley led an expeditionary force of about four thousand men against the uncaptured Sioux. Part of this force consisted of 170 scouts headed by Major Joseph R. Brown who had preceded Galbraith as agent to the Sioux. William W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State,* 234.

at Ft Snelling were all the Renvilles[12] including the Widow,[13] Paul, Simon, Kawanke, and all the Campbells.[14] We had a very pleasant trip down to Hannibal which you know is a little below Quincy on the Misouri side—where we got Saturday evening about 4 O'clock. We stayed there over the Sabbath which I was very glad of, though we did not have much rest. There were so many visitors thronging around them all day. We had the large freight depot for the Indians where we had meeting twice & shut most of the whites out. We left there Monday afternoon about 3 O'clock. They crowded them into freight cars about 60 in a car, and I thought that they would suffer a great deal, but it came up a rain & cooled off the air so that when we got off here the next morning (yesterday) they got off in good spirits. And we are now camped in 60 soldiers tents waiting for the boat that is to take us up the river. It will probably be 2 or 3 days before it is here & then we shall probably be nearly two weeks going up the river, so that I have not much expectation of getting to our new home before the first of June. They did not bring the other Indians by the same route that we have come but took them down to St Louis, and we are now waiting for them. They expect to put us all on the same boat. If they do I think it will be nearly as bad as the middle passage for the slaves. Coming down there was enough for comfort in our company of 540—more than would have been comfortable on the Lower deck if they had not had two or three barges all along the way, and on the Missouri river they cant run barges they

[12] The Renvilles were a large family of mixed-bloods. Nine of them are given in a list of scouts made out by Sibley under the date of May 28, 1863. The first on the list, Gabriel, has written an account of the Sioux outbreak in which he claims that it was at his suggestion that the government decided to use half-breeds and even full-blooded Indians who had been faithful to the whites in the capacity of scouts. Sibley Papers; *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 10:611.

[13] This was probably the Rosalie Renville who is listed among the heads of families in the census of the Indian camp. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1863, p. 316.

[14] In Sibley's list of scouts are to be found the names Paul Maza-Koo-ta-Mannee, Simon Awagmannee, Joseph Kawanke, A. J. Campbell, and Scott Campbell. The last two are also listed among the half-breed heads of families in the census of the camp.

say so I dont know where they will stow themselves even if they give them the whole boat. But then folks say they are only Indians.[15] In the manifest of freight taken down by the Northerner they published *30 horses, 540 Indians.*

I am glad I was not with the other Indians for I would rather come the way we have than by St. Louis. St. Joseph is a very pretty place nearly as large I should judge as St Paul, though it shows the effects of the war more than St. Paul. All the way by railroad thro Misouri we could see some of the effects of Secession. Some houses burnt—a good many deserted & the farms gone to rack. Now however all north of the Misouri feel comparitively secure. And they make Secessionists keep shut up pretty close. I have heard more Union talk and less Secesh talk since I came into Misouri than before. We are now just over the river from Kansas and they are a raving kind of Union folks there I judge.

We have not heard anything more about where we are going than when we started. We have only heard that the Superintendent went up past here with some supplies for Indians.[16] The Misouri river is pretty low now but they say a rise is coming down the Platte, and the Misouri generally begins to rise about this time.

I dont get along writing very well as I stay in a tent adjoining the Indian Camp & they keep coming in and bothering me. There is no one along for an interpreter Lorenzo is the best English

[15] The *St. Paul Press* for May 5 gives an account of the treatment the Indians on the "Davenport" received when they passed through St. Paul. Led by a soldier who had been wounded at Birch Coolie the crowd "commenced throwing boulders at the Indians and as they were so closely packed upon the boiler deck as to be scarcely able to move it was impossible for them to escape the missiles. Several of the squaws were hit upon the head and quite severely injured." No violence was reported when the "Northerner" left the next day though again at crowd gathered as the boat lay at levee.

[16] The superintendent was Clark W. Thompson who had come to Minnesota in 1853, and in 1861 had been appointed to the northern superintendency. His headquarters were in St. Paul, but he had gone in advance to purchase supplies and select the new home for the Sioux. He left St. Joseph on May 5 and reached Fort Randall on the nineteenth. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1863, p. 310.

talker there is. So that they want me to interpret a great deal. The man in charge of these is named Benj. Thompson.[17] Whether Agent Galbraith is going to come around & be our Agent I doubt some, though some who saw him said he expected to come around in a week or so afterwards.[18] And Dr. Wakefield[19] told me he was coming around with him, though I hope to never see him[20] out here, & all the Indians wish the same thing most heartily.

The Indians have a great deal of singing on the road. In the Steamboat in the cars & in the camp & they would sing a good deal more but wherever they sing the Whites gather around so thick that is really very unpleasant.

I hope to hear from you soon by way of Ft Randall

Your own Son

JOHN P. WILLIAMSON

[17] Benjamin Thompson came to St. Paul from Pennsylvania in 1850. His acquaintance with the Sioux, though of a business character, led him to take an active interest in their welfare. He was in sympathy with the work of Joseph R. Brown and the missionaries with the Indians, and this work he himself helped to carry on when in 1867 he became agent of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of the Sioux in Dakota Territory. *St. Paul and Minneapolis Daily Pioneer Press,* April 16, 1861; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1867, p. 245; 1869, pp. 323–326.

[18] Galbraith left St. Paul for St. Joseph May 20, on his way to Fort Randall. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report,* 1863, p. 311.

[19] Dr. J. L. Wakefield located at Shakopee in 1854. He was at this time Indian physician under Galbraith. *St. Paul Pioneer,* February 19, 1874.

[20] The reference is probably to Galbraith rather than to Wakefield. Galbraith was a political appointee without any special qualifications for the position of Indian agent. His incompetence may have been a factor in bringing about the outbreak in 1862.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley: an Account of Marches and Activities of the First Regiment United States Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley between the Years 1833 and 1850. By Louis Pelzer. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917. x, 282 p.)

From 1833 to 1850, the boundary dates of this book, the frontier of settlement in America remained more nearly permanent than during any similar length of time before or since. It was agreed on all sides that the limit of white settlement was in sight. The great western plains were impossible from an agricultural standpoint; white men could never prosper there. This situation was by no means unfortunate for it made easy the solution of the Indian problem. A wise providence had stocked the plains with an inexhaustible supply of game, thus fitting them superbly to become the future home of all the Indians. Apologies for the policy of removal were, therefore, unnecessary. The whites were manifestly destined to inhabit the eastern half of the continent, but the Far West was as obviously reserved forever to the Indians. Between the two sections a line of forts, garrisoned by United States troops, guaranteed peace to white and redskin alike.

Mr. Pelzer's book is designed to be a "cross sectional view" of the work of the army in maintaining this frontier. The First Regiment of United States Dragoons, whose marches and countermarches it chronicles, was organized in 1833 for service in the West. Recruits from all sections of the union were gathered and trained at St. Louis, and afterwards in detachments, small and large, they were sent throughout the western half of the Mississippi Valley "in the work of frontier defense, garrison duty, treaty negotiations, marches, expeditions, patrol duty, exploration, and in the enforcement of federal laws." During the seventeen years that the book covers, certainly the dragoons engaged in about all the types of army service possible and in

giving a history of their marches the author achieves his objective. The reader gets unmistakable impressions of the character of army life along the frontier.

The facts which the book records, Mr. Pelzer tells us, were gleaned from "officers' reports, the accounts of travellers, post records, diaries, journals, order books, and correspondence," a great quantity of which he has been at some pains to examine. By consolidating the reference notes into about twenty pages at the end of the volume instead of distributing them through the text, as customarily is done, the author avoids the necessity of a formal bibliography, yet presents in compact form a critical estimate of his sources. While the exploitation of this material brings out little that is essentially new, the reader will willingly concede that it "enriches our knowledge of the staples of western history." We are not only given additional proof of the weakness of the American army, but we get "close-up" views of the results of the policy of Indian removal, of the government's efforts to maintain its treaties, and to preserve order among the western settlers as well as among the Indians themselves. We see the soldier unconsciously at work to destroy the frontier he is meant to protect, opening up and guarding new routes of trade and travel, and occasionally revealing the fitness of bits of country for white habitation. We find overwhelming evidence of the efficacy of whiskey, sold at the "exorbitant price" of "25 cts a pt" (p. 31), in undermining the character of Indian and soldier alike.

But the narrative is undeniably monotonous. Possibly part of this monotony is unavoidable, but the plan of the book does nothing to lessen it. The volume contains seventeen chapters of an average length of about twelve pages. Nearly every chapter is the record of an expedition in which some of the dragoons participated. In chapter 4 a visit is made to the Pawnee Pict village, in chapter 5 Colonel Kearny leads his command along the River Des Moines, in chapter 6 the Dragoons march all the way to the Rocky Mountains, this being "the eleventh mounted expedition of Colonel Henry Dodge," and so on. With unavoidable changes of scenery, quantity and quality of Indians, buffalo, and water, each journey is like the other. One recalls almost with

a feeling of affection the ever recurring "From thence they proceeded" of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Nor is the situation greatly improved by the author's frequent desire to feature "the beauties of a prodigal nature" (p. 54), and to describe minutely the animal life of the plains in precivilized times. Buffalo become especially wearisome. On fifty-seven out of two hundred and thirty-seven pages the diligent indexer has found them in sufficient numbers to justify mention.

An appendix of more than fifty pages reproduces the *Journal* for the spring and summer of 1843 of Captain Nathan Boone, a son of Daniel Boone. In this year Captain Boone as an officer of the Dragoons explored a considerable part of the territory drained by the Arkansas River and its branches, and in the *Journal* he records the daily activities of his party. The document contains extensive, and possibly valuable, observations on the geological formation, vegetation, and game of the region, but on the whole is rather a tedious performance.

JOHN D. HICKS

The Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862. By GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, PH. D. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1917. 296 p.)

In this interesting and valuable study the author has attempted three things: (1) "to trace the history of the public land legislation in Congress;" (2) "to portray the sentiment of the different sections of the country relative to the disposal of the public domain;" and (3) "to estimate the influence of the public lands on the political and legislative situation in general in the period from 1840 to 1862." The study which has been accepted as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard, is based upon extensive research, particularly in the *Congressional Globe* and contemporary newspapers, the former being the principal source for the legislative history and the latter for reflecting the sentiment of the country. The work indicates a careful reading of many newspapers of the period in all sections of the country, the files in the Harvard College Library, the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the libraries of the state historical societies of Wisconsin and Minnesota being used for this purpose. This

volume will be of particular interest to readers in Minnesota because of the extensive use made of Minnesota newspapers and the frequency of footnote references to this material. The *Congressional Globe* and the newspapers, extensive as the list of the latter is, by no means constitute the only materials covered by the researches of the author. Other materials consist of contemporary correspondence, memoirs, and diaries. The reader is impressed with the careful and diligent work of the author, and the frequency of footnote references makes it possible to check the accuracy of his conclusions. One chapter is devoted to bibliography, but this is not critical as regards secondary material.

The work is divided into fifteen chapters, the first six of which deal with the history of the public lands to the beginning of national homestead agitation. Distribution, preëmption, and graduation, the bearing of these upon the tariff and other questions of the time, and the attitude of the sections towards these various phases of the public land question are carefully traced out by the author. The hostility of the South towards homestead legislation, the connection between the homestead bill and the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the relation of the homestead question to the election of 1860 are all considered. These chapters constitute a refreshing and, in some ways, a new view of old and familiar topics. The importance of the public lands in our national history has not until recently been adequately considered. That they had a very great importance cannot be doubted; that the importance might be over emphasized in a special study of this kind must also be recognized. The reader of this volume has the feeling that the author has adequately brought out the significance of the public lands without giving them undue importance, particularly as regards the relation of the homestead-movement to the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the election of 1860.

The book is readable and the text is accompanied by several maps showing the votes in Congress on various phases of public land legislation. Some minor errors have crept in, but these in no way mar the many good features of the book, which is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of this interesting and important phase of our history.

WILSON P. SHORTRIDGE

The Fur Trade of North America and Some of the Men Who Made It and Maintain It. By ALBERT LORD BELDEN. (New York, The Peltries Publishing Company, 1917. 591 p.)

In the absence of both a preface and an introduction the reader can only conjecture that the purpose of the author in writing this book was to provide a handbook of furs and the fur trade. The volume consists of brief sketches and notes on the various aspects of the fur trade, principally in North America. These include descriptions of fur bearing animals and their habits, methods of trapping, the preparation and marketing of skins, the history of the trade in well-known American markets, sketches of men and firms identified with this business, and explanations of trade terms and customs.

It is to be regretted that after having collected a large amount of material the author of this somewhat bulky volume did not spend enough additional time and work in the task of organizing his results to make them readily accessible. The reader is confused by a quantity of information put together with little apparent regard for unity of thought or chronological order. "Early Traders," "New York," "Methods," "Boston," and the modern "Cold Storage" follow each other in rapid succession, while biographical sketches of prominent furriers are inserted between descriptions of "Muskrats" and "Civit Cats," "Automobile Furs" and "Prime—Unprime" furs. There are no references to the sources the author has used, so the reader is unable to determine how exhaustive his study has been. Much of his information seems to have been drawn from secondary material with the result that omissions and errors have crept in. In describing the fur trade in St. Paul and Minneapolis (pp. 92–98) Mr. Belden makes no mention of Henry H. Sibley who, as a partner in the American Fur Company, exercised a powerful influence on the fur trade of the Northwest for many years. Norman W. Kittson (p. 26) did not come to Fort Snelling until 1834. Moreover he was engaged at the fort as a sutler for four years before opening a trading post for himself. In a general survey of the North American fur trade a mere mention is not an adequate notice of Manuel Lisa (p. 81) whose life is inseparably linked with the development of the early Missouri fur

trade. These and similar shortcomings lead to the conclusion that the author has not sufficiently evaluated and organized his material.

Nevertheless the book is an interesting one; it is well printed and attractively illustrated. Much of the material is unique, while an index goes far toward remedying the deficiencies in organization. Doubtless many readers will welcome it as a suggestive and usable reference book.

JEANNETTE SAUNDERS

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

An interesting paper on "The Influence of Geographic Factors in the Development of Minnesota" was read by Mr. Chessley J. Posey, assistant professor of geography at the University of Minnesota, at the stated meeting of the executive council on April 8. The meeting was open to the public and was attended by an audience of about sixty members of the society and others.

The museum and gallery on the third floor of the Historical Building were opened to the public on April 8. All exhibits will be temporary in character until the new equipment of cases is received, and even then it is expected that much of the material will be kept in storage the greater part of the time. It will be so arranged, however, as to be readily accessible, and from it selections will be made from time to time for special exhibits. One such special exhibit of objects of war interest was on display during April and plans have been made for exhibits in connection with the dedication of the building. The number of visitors to the museum now averages about sixty a day.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending April 31, 1918: Walter L. Mayo and George T. Withy of St. Paul; George M. Stephenson of Minneapolis; and Charles H. Hopkins of Fairfax. Deaths among the members during the same period were as follows: Francis A. Sampson of Columbia, Missouri, February 4; William Jay Whipple of Winona, February 5; Hon. George N. Lamphere of Palouse, Washington, February 10; Hubert Howe Bancroft of San Francisco, March 2; Hon. Lyndon A. Smith of St. Paul, March 5; John A. Stees of St. Paul, April 14; and Hon. Frank Ives of Cass Lake, April 16.

Gifts

Through the courtesy of Dr. Folwell the society has received two small but valuable collections of manuscripts. These consist of some papers of Hon. William S. King, presented by his

grandson Mr. Lindon S. King of Minneapolis, and some papers of Rev. T. S. Williamson, the pioneer missionary, presented by Mrs. Helen M. Williamson, widow of his son Henry M. Williamson, who died recently at Portland, Oregon.

Dr. Folwell was also instrumental in obtaining for the society a copy of the "Boyhood Reminiscences of General Huggins," recently written by General Eli Lundy Huggins for his nephews. As the son of Alexander Huggins, a Presbyterian missionary to the Sioux, General Huggins experienced many of the hardships and adventures of pioneer life in Minnesota, some of which he describes most entertainingly. Of especial interest are his account of a trip made in an ox cart from Traverse des Sioux to Lac Qui Parle, October, 1845, and his description of a keel boat voyage from Lac Qui Parle to Kaposia and return, on which he accompanied his parents in August, 1849.

Company C of the One Hundred and Thirty Fifth United States Infantry (First Minnesota) has deposited its trophies with the society for the duration of the war. These consist of a flag used by the company in the battle of Manila, a "National Defense Trophy" shield, and a large number of loving cups. The latter are kept in two mahogany cases which are now placed in the second floor corridor of the Historical Building.

From Dr. Guy S. Ford, a member of the council of this society who is now serving as chairman of the division of civic and educational coöperation of the Committee on Public Information in Washington, the society has received samples of some of the the literature prepared by the Committee on Public Information to be dropped behind the German lines from aeroplanes. These consist of German translations of President Wilson's addresses to Congress on December 5 and January 8. In the latter special attention is drawn by means of underscoring to the parts of the addresses which were not printed in the German papers.

The Plymouth Church (Minneapolis) has presented bound volumes of its calendars for the years 1915, 1916, and 1917, which bring the society's file, beginning with the year 1911, up to January, 1918. With the weekly calendars are bound programs

of various church organizations and pamphlet editions of sermons. This policy of depositing ephemeral material with the society is one that may well be adopted by other churches, for it insures a complete and permanent file that is accessible to the public as well as to the people directly interested in the church.

Mr. Stan. D. Donnelly of St. Paul has presented to the society an excellent portrait of his grandfather, Ignatius Donnelly, painted by Nicholas Brewer about 1890. Inasmuch as the society possesses a very large and valuable collection of the papers of Ignatius Donnelly, it is peculiarly appropriate that this painting should be preserved in its gallery.

To S. W. Frasier of St. Paul and E. F. Joubert of Wheaton the society is indebted for files of the *Browns Valley Reporter* from May 20, 1880 to July 4, 1889 and of the *Inter-Laken Tribune* (Browns Valley) from March to June, 1897. The *Reporter* was started by Mr. Frasier in 1880 and was the first paper printed in Traverse County.

Mrs. E. C. Becker of St. Paul recently presented a framed pastel portrait of her father, George Augustus Hamilton, done by "Jaeger" in 1888. Mr. Hamilton was a member of the society and served as its president in 1869.

The firm of Lee Brothers, photographers of St. Paul, has presented, through Mr. K. L. Fenney, a set of twelve panorama pictures of units of Minnesota troops engaged in the war.

A muzzle-loading rifle, a powder horn, and a deerskin pouch, which were for years the property of John Bateman of Spring Valley, one of the pioneers of southern Minnesota, have been presented by G. W. Bateman of Alexandria and W. H. Loomis of Richey, Montana, son and grandson of Mr. Bateman. A short history of the gun, written by John Bateman in 1905, accompanies the gifts.

Mr. Joseph N. Prokes of Jackson, Minnesota, has presented two old copper kettles found by him several years ago near the Des Moines River in Jackson County. They appear to be of European manufacture, and it is surmised that they were lost or abandoned by some pioneer settler at the time of the Indian outbreak. These articles are interesting additions to the museum.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The Nebraska State Historical Society has begun the publication of a monthly paper entitled *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days,* the first issue of which appeared in February. The editor, Addison E. Sheldon, superintendent of the society states that "It is the intention to make this journal a piece of popular literature,—as distinguished from academic. It will aim to present in clear and attractive form, fact, story, comment and criticism relating to the history of Nebraska."

In a brief survey entitled, *The American Indians North of Mexico,* (Cambridge, 1917. 169 p.) William H. Miner has undertaken to supply a want which he feels exists for a "readable, comprehensive . . . authentic account of the original inhabitants of the American continent, which may . . . be termed popular." The book contains a bibliography designed especially for the use of persons wishing to begin a reading course on the American Indians.

The American Indian Magazine for October–December, 1917, is a special Sioux number, and contains much material of interest to the student of the history of this tribe. Among the contributions are "The Sioux Outbreak of 1862," by Arthur C. Parker, and "The Sioux of Yesterday and Today," by Charles A. Eastman.

An article on "Indian Land Titles in Minnesota," by Gordon Cain, in the February number of the *Minnesota Law Review* summarizes the legal aspects of the famous White Earth land cases which play so prominent a part in the recent history of the Ojibway Indians.

Both the March and the April issues of *Iowa and War* contain material of Minnesota interest. The former consists of a brief sketch of "The Black Hawk War," by Jacob Van der Zee, and the latter is devoted to an account of "Border Defense in Iowa During the Civil War," by Dan E. Clark. Mr. Clark's

narrative treats of the effect upon the neighboring state of the Sioux uprising in Minnesota.

A suggestive piece of work in the field of local history is *Iowa Stories,* Book One, (Iowa City, 1917. 138 p.) by Clarence R. Aurner. The book is a series of brief essays on Iowa pioneer life, written in a simple style for the use of school children.

The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822–1829 (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918. 352 p.) is a valuable contribution to the history of the Far West. The editor, Harrison Clifford Dale, has included, besides the original journals, accounts of the fur trade and explorations in the region before and during the period covered by the journals themselves.

Ernest Cawcroft contributes a sketch of "Donald Mackenzie; King of the Northwest," to the February issue of the *Canadian Magazine.* In it he states that a biography of this important figure in the history of the fur trade is being written by Alexander Mackenzie of Toronto.

"A Comparison of Transportation on the Mississippi Basin Rivers and the Great Lakes," by A. E. Parkins, in the *Journal of Geography* for February deals mainly with present day conditions but contains some historical material.

In its series on "State Builders of the West," the *Western Magazine* includes sketches of "Stephen Miller, Fourth Governor of Minnesota," in the February number and "William R. Marshall, Fifth Governor of Minnesota," in the April number. The April number contains also a sketch of St. Cloud, under the heading "O-za-te (The Forks of the Road)," by C. L. Llewellyn, which is partly historical. In the March number is an article entitled "Developing an Insurance Center," by Edmond L. DeLestry, which contains information about the history of insurance companies in the Twin Cities.

Sections five and six of the second volume of *Danske i Amerika,* which appeared recently, contain considerable material relating to the Danish element in Minnesota. The publication of this work was begun by the C. Rasmussen Company, Minneapolis,

in 1917. The first volume deals with the Danish immigration as a whole, while the second volume, which is being published serially, contains studies of this element in special localities.

En Norsk Bygds Historie (1917. 240 p.) is the title of a history of a Norwegian settlement in North Bottineau County, North Dakota, by Olav Redal. The book contains a large amount of biographical material.

Salomons Almanak for 1917: De Forenende Staters Danske Almanak, Haand og Aarbog (Seattle, 1917. 208 p.) is the fourth of an interesting series of year books edited by Michael Salomon. In addition to a valuable collection of data on the Danish element in the United States, the book contains a "Who's Who" of Danish Americans.

The translation of Ole Rynning's *True Account of America* by Theodore C. Blegen, which appears in the November number of the BULLETIN, is noticed in two Scandinavian papers. In the *Minneapolis Tidende* of February 28, Carl G. O. Hansen discusses Mr. Blegen's work at some length, including in his review a sketch of Rynning. A briefer notice is printed in the February 20 issue of *Folkebladet* (Minneapolis). Both reviewers feel that the translating and editing of this little book is an important contribution to the study of the Scandinavian element in America.

The *History Teachers' Magazine* for February reprints Carl Becker's article on "The Monroe Doctrine and the War" from the May, 1917, number of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN.

The *Minneapolis Tribune* of March 31 contains an article entitled "The Giant Dam That Harnesses Energy of Mighty Chippewa River," which is of interest to Minnesotans because it attributes the early development of water power on the Chippewa to one of Minnesota's pioneer lumbermen, Frederick Weyerhaeuser. As a preface to a description of a large present-day project to utilize the water power of the Chippewa Falls, the *Tribune* tells of the lumber mills operated by the Chippewa Lumber and Boom Company, in which Mr. Weyerhaeuser was a controlling factor, in the days when lumbering was at its height in that region.

The November 4, 1917, issue of the *La Crosse Tribune and Leader-Press* contains an excellent biographical sketch of Cadwallader C. Washburn who, while not a citizen of Minnesota, was closely identified with its economic history as the builder and developer of the famous Washburn mills, which he established in Minneapolis in 1876.

Under the title "Interesting Grain Case of 1869–72" the *Lake City Graphic Republican* of March 22 prints the history of a suit started by some Wabasha County farmers to determine the title to a large amount of wheat which had been secretly sold and shipped by the Atkinson and Kellogg Elevator Company, with whom the farmers had deposited their grain for safe-keeping.

The March 10 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* contains an article in which the general development of the banking business in Minneapolis during the last quarter of a century is discussed in connection with an account of some of the earlier banks and bankers.

"Fifty Years Old Today," is the title of an historical résumé of the *St. Paul Dispatch* which appears in the February 28 issue of that paper. In addition to an account of the growth and development of the *Dispatch,* the article contains biographical material concerning the men most closely identified with its history.

"The History of Medicine in Minneapolis," by Dr. Arthur S. Hamilton is published in three parts in the *Journal-Lancet,* beginning with the March number. The article contains considerable valuable material, much of which the author gathered from the files of the Twin City newspapers.

The reminiscences of George Day, in which he describes his experiences as a pioneer in the region of Excelsior, have appeared serially in recent issues of the *Minnetonka Record.* Of especial interest is his account of the numerous unsuccessful attempts to establish cities on the shores of Lake Minnetonka, most of which failed during the Panic of 1857.

In an article entitled, "University of Minnesota Will Be 50 Years Old Tomorrow," the *Minneapolis Journal* of February 17

surveys briefly conditions in the University when it was established and at the present time. Pictures of "Old Main," the first president, William Watts Folwell, and President Burton, accompany the article.

The origin of township names in Dakota County is discussed in the January 18 issue of the *Dakota County Tribune.*

A brief history of the Christian Church at Austin is printed in the *Mower County Transcript-Republican* of January 23 in connection with an account of the dedication of a new church building.

The February 27 issue of the *St. Cloud Times* contains an historical résumé of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Cloud, which dedicated a new church building Sunday, February 24.

In its account of the annual meeting of the Waseca County Anti-Horse Thief Detective Society held at Waseca, February 16, the *Waseca Journal Radical* of February 20 tells something of the early work of this organization, which was established in pioneer days.

The Lake Pepin Valley Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Lake City, February 7; the Winona County Old Settlers' Association met at Winona, February 22; the Danish Pioneers met in Minneapolis, February 24; and the annual meeting of the Canby Old Settlers' Association was held at Canby, March 13.

In its issues from November 3, to February 9 the *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa) publishes an account of the "Indian Outbreak" by William Cairncross in which he tells of his experiences in the region of Fort Ridgely and New Ulm during the Sioux uprising. The "Tales of a Grandfather" by the same author, which are now appearing in the *Post,* contain considerable information concerning early social and economic conditions in Minnesota.

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MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

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THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINNESOTA[1]

Geography and history are two branches of knowledge that are very closely related. Whether recording the history of to-day or that of some past epoch, the historian writes most accurately when he has in mind, as his background, the geographic conditions of the times of which he writes. The geographer, in turn, must study the pages of history if he wishes to comprehend fully the geographic conditions of any period, the present not excepted. Some one has tersely defined history as geography set in motion, meaning thereby that the geography of to-day becomes the history of to-morrow, a definition that geographers can accept; to speak of its acceptance by historians would be presumption on my part.

In considering the influence of geography in the settlement and development of Minnesota a brief statement of the factors involved will be of advantage, since it will indicate the general lines along which the discussion will proceed. Among geographers it is generally conceded that a study of the geography of a region embraces a discussion of the climate, the topography and relief, the question of glaciation, the hydrography, the mineral resources, the flora, the fauna, the soils, the position with reference to lines of commerce and accessibility, and, finally, the people themselves. It is purposed to show briefly and, therefore, rather generally, some of the ways in which each of these factors has played a part in the development of the state.

Without doubt climate is one of the most fundamental of the geographic factors of a region. It may be such as to make

[1] An address read at the stated meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, April 8, 1918.

development practically out of the question, as is the case in lands where low temperatures prevail throughout the year, or where extreme drought is perennial; on the other hand, where the climate is favorable, some of its influences are often so subtle as to preclude their exact statement; sometimes, moreover, a given phase may be from one viewpoint decidedly favorable, and from another quite as unfavorable.

It is not at all beside the mark to say that it was the climate of Minnesota and of the states to the east that brought the French explorers here so early. In the first place, the rainfall was sufficient to fill the many lake basins, formed as the result of geologically recent glaciation, so that it was possible to travel long distances by canoe. Then, the abundance of lakes, the presence of large forest and prairie tracts, and the long, cold winters, all served to furnish an ideal habitat for animals bearing furs of the highest quality. It was for furs that Radisson and Groseilliers first came into this region; on their return from their second trip, in 1660, they are said to have reached Montreal "in sixty canoes loaded with furs worth $40,000." From that time on until 1850 furs were the leading product of the region that later became Minnesota; and the fur trade, it should be stated, occupied a leading place here for a much longer time than any other single industry.

The climate of Minnesota, by defining the length of the crop-growing season, together with the average summer temperatures, plays also an important part in determining what crops may be raised. In the early days the impression seems to have been abroad in the older states to the southeast that the summers in Minnesota were so short that in most of the years the staple crops would not mature. One can not help but notice how in the early numbers of the *Minnesota Pioneer* Editor Goodhue apparently went out of his way to show that the growing season is long enough for the maturing of crops in this state as well as in those farther south, and in California, which was at that time much in the public eye.

Within my own recollection Minnesota was hardly considered a corn-growing state; its right to be classed as an apple-producing state may scarcely be said to be proved as yet; and no one claims for it any consideration as a place suitable for the cultivation of peaches and pears. The data collected by the United States weather bureau at Minneapolis show that, on the basis of the average date of the last killing frost in the spring to the earliest killing frost in the autumn, the longest growing season for Minnesota, a period of one hundred and sixty days, is found in the southeastern part along the Mississippi. The shortest season, found near the Lake of the Woods and in the northeastern part of the state, is just short of one hundred days. For most seasons one hundred days is too short for the maturing of corn. In these two facts we have an exact statement of the reason why that crop is confined to the southern part of the state. Though the growing season is too short in some parts of the state for the maturing of corn, it is, nevertheless, of such character that it produces a harder wheat and one that is richer in gluten than the varieties grown in most sections of the country. This same wheat has revolutionized the flour-milling industry and has been largely responsible for making the name "Minneapolis" familiar to millions of housewives the world over.

Stories of Minnesota's long and severe winters probably kept many an immigrant from coming to the state; but that result had its compensations, since only the most hardy ventured within its borders. The character of the winters kept the early settlers within or along the margin of the timbered areas because these were the source of the fuel supply. By the time the frontier had reached Minnesota, the value and fertility of the prairies and oak openings were thoroughly understood, and the problem of breaking the tough prairie sod had been solved, things which were unknown to the pioneers of Ohio and of southern Indiana and Illinois. In this state, therefore, the prairies were the first lands to be brought under cultivation; with less prairie land the agricultural development

of the state would probably have been less rapid. The climate, however, was partly responsible for the existence of the prairies as well as for the conditions that tended to keep the early settlers near their periphery.

There are still other ways in which climate has played an important part in the development of the state, its influence being, in some respects, direct and unfavorable in character, in others beneficial; but as most of these can better be discussed under other headings they will not be taken up at this point. One other characteristic, however, should be mentioned here. I refer to the great differences between summer and winter temperatures, and to the sudden changes not infrequently experienced within a period of twenty-four or thirty-six hours. The immigration of the virile people of northern Europe to Minnesota was in part due to its climate, since it is somewhat similar to theirs. Moreover, the climate tends to keep the inhabitants of a similar type. The tang of our cold winter days induces energy and vim, and the heat of summer is neither great enough nor of long enough duration to be especially enervating. Indeed, on the whole, its climate is one of Minnesota's most valuable geographic assets.

The character of the surface of the land, whether it is rough or generally level, is a primary geographic factor. Particularly is this true in Minnesota, where the surface is so typical of its mode of origin and where the reactions to the surface conditions have been so characteristic. No one now questions the fact of the recent glaciation of the state. Before the coming of the glacier this region would probably have passed as a level country, but of greater relief than it now has. More significant is the fact that at that time the drainage lines were well established, and lakes and swamp areas were probably reduced to a minimum. How many major drainage lines there were and what courses they took is not altogether clear. The soils were largely alluvial and residual, and showed a zonal arrangement as an expression of the arrangement of the underlying rock. The glaciers, however, changed all this.

The well-established drainage lines were entirely obliterated in many cases, and in others much altered. While no major relief features were developed, the surface was left pitted with numerous depressions, many of which are now the sites of lakes or of swamps. In many places the drainage lines have not yet become well established, and as a result the *voyageur* found passage from one river system to another a relatively easy matter, since it usually required only a short portage; hence, his early acquaintance with our state.

A glacier modifies greatly the character of the soil. It mixes heterogeneously the fine and the coarse, the alluvial and the residual soils, and the rock flour which it has made in its movements. Where limestone has been the underlying rock, the limey nature of the flour has tended to "sweeten" other residual clays that might otherwise be acid and not so productive. Again this very heterogeneity is an asset. Studies of statistics show that glaciated regions generally have better soils, and are more productive than adjacent nonglaciated ones, and that they are, therefore, more valuable from the agricultural standpoint.

We must not lose sight of the fact, on the other hand, that in its erosional and depositional effects a glacier may work harm. There were many places where the country was pretty well stripped of its soil, and because the time which has elapsed since the passing of the glacier has been far too short for the formation of a sufficient depth of residual soil, such sections are unfit for agriculture and must remain so indefinitely. In most cases, however, they will maintain a good forest covering, and that is the best use to which they can be put. Such lands are found principally in the north and northeastern parts of the state.

Too much glacial deposition may at times be harmful also. It is not likely that the glacier destroyed a relatively large amount of mineral deposits. What it probably did do, however, was to cover up and conceal deposits that might be very valuable were they known to exist. Their discovery may be

merely a matter of time. Again, the thick deposits of till overlying the iron ore in some of the mines are not sufficiently indurated to permit of shaft mining and must be stripped, an operation which involves considerable expense. In this respect glaciation is a liability.

During the time of the retreat of the edge of the glacier marginal lakes were formed; these have subsequently been more or less completely drained. One of them deserves special mention, since the former lake bottom now furnishes one of the most characteristic physiographic features of the continent as well as some of the best wheat lands. I refer to Glacial Lake Agassiz, which at its greatest height covered a large area in the northwestern part of the state. The deposits laid down in the bottom of the shallow lake are now the fertile, level plains for which the Red River Valley is so justly famous.

In still another way glaciation has affected the development of Minnesota profoundly. It is axiomatic to say that all plant life of the area overridden by the glacier was destroyed. There was of course a southward migration of the various species in advance of the on-coming ice. As the ice edge retreated, there was a return migration of the plants in accordance with the changed climatic conditions. But as all species do not migrate with equal rapidity, we have the interesting phenomenon of some returning—shall we say to the old haunts?—ahead of others that were their preglacial fellows. Botanists tell us that some varieties of trees, as, for example, several members of the hickory family, have not yet returned so far north as present climatic conditions would warrant. Large forest areas of trees of the same variety are, for this reason, found here. In lands where there has been no such forced migration the forests are much mixed, and, as a result, lumbering is more difficult and less profitable. So far as ease of lumbering is concerned, the virgin pine forests of Minnesota have had no superiors and few equals the world over. Shortly after the Chippewa Indians ceded part of their lands east of the Mississippi to the government in 1837, the

lumber industry became important. It soon rivaled the fur trade and later became the leading industry of the state, a position which it held until it was displaced by agriculture in the sixties. The highest point of the lumber output was not reached until 1905, when about two billion feet were produced. The industry will never again attain the proportions which it had in the year just mentioned; but, on the other hand, it will never die out. When the people realize that there are some thousands of square miles of nonagricultural lands which are best suited to forests, and when they demand a policy of scientific afforestation, a substantial increase in the lumber business may be looked for, and, moreover, it will then become as stable an industry as agriculture.

With reference to animal life, attention has already been called to the fur-bearing animals found here as a reaction to the climatic conditions. The climate performs a further service to the inhabitants of this region in that it inhibits the presence of the malaria- and yellow-fever-carrying mosquitoes.

Minnesota is fortunate, indeed, in that three great river systems of the continent, the Mississippi, the Nelson-Red, and the St. Lawrence, have their sources within its borders. When navigation was the chief method of transport, these streams afforded easy access from three different directions. It is significant that the first two authentic exploring expeditions within the present borders of the state entered by two of these waterways, that of Duluth by the St. Lawrence and that of Hennepin by the Mississippi, and that these men should actually have met in the vicinity of Mille Lacs in 1680. Later, when it came to the matter of establishing posts and permanent settlements, entrance was made by all three of these river systems. Aside from the soldiery and the employees of the fur companies, the first white settlers came by way of the Red River, but by 1850 the larger number of immigrants were arriving by way of the Mississippi, which, from that time until the railroads were built, continued to be the principal route of

immigration. It was not until considerably after 1850 that the Lake Superior route had contributed more immigrants than that by way of the Red River.

The falls and rapids of the streams have played an important part in the development of the state, since they determine the places of portages, in some instances the head of navigation, and, later, because of the water power, the location of urban centers. Of the latter two examples may be mentioned. A short distance below the falls of the St. Croix the first settlement of Americans within the state was made in 1838, and soon there grew up along the river a number of settlements, the largest of which was Stillwater. In 1849 these were outnumbered in population only by the settlements clustered about St. Paul. Again, the Falls of St. Anthony determined the sites of both St. Paul and Minneapolis, the former at the point to which boats could conveniently ascend, and the latter at the power site itself. It is now known that within another mile of recession the Falls of St. Anthony would have disappeared, and had this taken place before the white man came upon the scene it is quite likely that the metropolis of the state would not be found in its present location. That the early settlers appreciated the value of the then-undeveloped power sites is shown by the fact that within the shortest possible time after the tidings of the conclusion of the Indian treaties ceding the triangular strip of land between the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers to the government reached the territory, claims abutting the falls of the St. Croix were staked out. A little later claims on the east bank of the Mississippi at St. Anthony Falls were taken up. While the amount of available water power of Minnesota streams suffers in comparison with that of most of our mountainous states, yet its character is of the most satisfactory sort, since the streams are generally less subject to fluctuations in flow. The many lakes and swamps prevent heavy floods in the streams, and, as a result, less heavy dams are necessary; furthermore, the consequent greater regularity of flow means less idleness of water

turbines because of low water. Owing to the lack of coal mines within the state industries have been more or less handicapped by the cost of generating steam power. What this handicap has meant is well shown by a comparison of the development of the manufacturing industries of Minneapolis and St. Paul, the latter city depending on power from coal, the former using a fair percentage of water power. In 1914 the output of manufactured products in Minneapolis was valued at $187,000,000; in St. Paul, at $68,000,000. What is particularly noteworthy is that at the beginning Minneapolis derived virtually all of its power from the falls, and this gave it such an initial advantage over St. Paul that the latter never has succeeded in overcoming the handicap thus imposed. This single illustration may serve to show the great desirability of utilizing many of the remaining water-power resources of the state.

No one conversant with the subject will deny the importance of accessibility, the ease of communication and transportation, in the settlement and development of a region. A consideration of this topic as applied to Minnesota shows several geographic factors, each exerting influences of major importance. Reference has already been made to the lakes and streams as highways of communication. Upon them in summer rode the canoes, pirogues, flatboats, keel boats, and, in later years, steamboats; in winter, in the early days, the frozen streams frequently furnished the roadway upon which the hardy traveler made his way from place to place. Before the coming of the telegraph St. Paul and points above had little communication with the outside world while the navigation of the river was closed by the severe winter weather. It is said that navigation on the Mississippi was "not to be relied upon after the first week in November; and steamboats arrived in the spring about the 10th or 12th of April." The following quotation, taken from the *Minnesota Pioneer* of April 28, 1849, illustrates the point: "During five months the communication between this part of the country and our brethren in the

United States has been difficult and unfrequent. A mail now and then from Prairie du Chien, brought up on the ice in a 'train' drawn sometimes by horses and sometimes by dogs, containing news so old that the good people in the country below had forgotten all about it. . . . When the milder weather commenced, and the ice became unsafe, we were completely shut out from all communication for several weeks." To the extent that these conditions were known to the people in the older states, they undoubtedly acted as a deterrent to prospective immigrants.

The influence of the forests and prairies upon the lines of communication was characteristic. Usually the trails kept to the prairie stretches as much as possible, for the traders had not the time, nor were they disposed to expend the means, necessary to construct roads through a wooded country. This often resulted in the sacrifice of directness of route. Of the three routes from St. Paul to the Pembina settlement, two, the southern and the middle, clung to the open prairie practically all the way. It is not too much of a digression here to suggest that the peculiar type of vehicle known as the Red River cart is an expression of the level prairie region of the old Lake Agassiz bed. A cart built along similar lines has evolved in the level pampas of Argentina.

The generally low relief of the state proved a valuable asset when the time of railroad building came. Construction was relatively inexpensive so far as the grading of the right of way was concerned. In addition the neighboring forests furnished ties and the best of structural timber at a low cost. It was under such conditions that, for the first time, railroads were pushed on in advance of settlement.

It is generally understood that for a city to be situated on lines of commerce, or for such lines to run through a country, is a particularly valuable asset. Minnesota is most fortunate in this respect, for in it is located one of the principal crossroads of the continent. The Twin Cities are at the focus of routes between the undeveloped empire to the north and west

and the states to the east of the southern end of Lake Michigan. Since it is at the head of steamboat navigation of the Mississippi, St. Paul early became an important distributing center for this great northwestern country, and that distinction it still holds. When the upper lakes navigation became important through the digging and subsequent deepening of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, Duluth similarly became the *entrepôt* for the northern part of the state. This section did not develop to any great extent, it may be remarked, until the shipment of ore from the Vermilion Range began in 1884.

While it may seem a little far-fetched, principally because one does not think of it in that way, there is no doubt that architectural styles have been modified in some respects by the geographic conditions that obtain in the region. In the larger prairie sections there was a time when houses were built of sod, since lumber was not readily available. Besides, houses so constructed were cheap and made a pretty fair type of winter residence. As railroads came in and lumber became everywhere available, the frame building became prevalent. Only as lumber has become scarcer in the last decade has there been any general use of other building material for houses. The abundant clays in the state supply a fine quality of brick, and the rigor of the winters necessitates a "tighter" house than is found in most parts of the country.

A discussion of this sort would not be complete without some mention of the high type of citizens in the commonwealth. One can not read the early history of the state without being struck by the high-mindedness of its pioneers. The establishment of this historical society is ample proof of the point. These pioneers had an abiding faith in the great future of the state they were shaping. Many of the things they hoped for have been realized, but there remains much to be done, including newer things they thought not of; and we shall do well if we "carry on" in the abiding faith that is our heritage.

CHESSLEY J. POSEY

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Minnesota, the Star of the North. By Mary Vance Carney, Central High School, St. Paul. (Boston, etc., D. C. Heath and Company, 1918. xvii, 249 p. Illustrated)

Of the several recent attempts to satisfy the need for a good school history of Minnesota, this seems to be the most successful. In the organization of the material, always a difficult problem in a work of this sort, the author has chosen a happy combination of chronological and topical arrangements which avoids the annalistic effect and at the same time gives an impression of development. The first two chapters furnish the background for the history of the state in accounts of its geography and Indian inhabitants. The explorations and territorial transitions of the French and British periods are then treated, followed by chapters on the fur trade, American explorations, and missionary activities. An account of the beginnings of American occupation and settlement is followed by a chapter on pioneer days which portrays early social and economic conditions. The narrative is resumed with the story of the establishment and political history of Minnesota Territory and of the transition to statehood. Two chapters are devoted to "Minnesota in the Civil War" and "The Sioux War of 1862." In the remainder of the book the topical arrangement predominates with the emphasis on economic history; and space is found for only a single brief chapter on the "Political History of the State."

The author has, as a rule, selected the most significant topics for treatment, put the emphasis in the right places, and apportioned the space judiciously, although a somewhat fuller treatment of the period since the Civil War would have been an improvement. There is also recognition of the fact that Minnesota's history is but a part of and inseparable from the history of the nation; and in the preface the author suggests that "its study should be correlated with the general course in American history, or should immediately follow it." Most important of

all, however, is the general accuracy of the work, both in interpretation and in matters of detail. While only occasional footnote references are given, it is evident that the writer has consulted most of the available material and has used it with discrimination. A few inaccuracies have crept in, however, principally as a result of attempts to condense a long story into a few words. For example, the impression is given that the Whig amendment to the bill for the establishment of the territory became part of the law (page 142), whereas the real explanation of the Whig appointments was the passage of the measure on the last day of the Polk administration.

The style is simple but spirited, and while not beyond the easy comprehension of students in the upper grades, the book could be used with profit in high school work and by mature readers who want a bird's-eye view of the history of Minnesota. Several maps and numerous illustrations "reproduced from photographs, or from sketches made by eye-witnesses," add to the attractiveness and usefulness of the work. The appendix contains a list of the governors, a table of important dates, a brief bibliography, questions and suggestions upon each chapter, and some valuable suggestions for supplementary work in the history of the local community in which the book may be used. With so satisfactory a textbook available, it is to be hoped that in the future more attention will be paid to Minnesota history in the schools than has been the case in the past.

SOLON J. BUCK

A Study of State Aid to Public Schools in Minnesota (The University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences,* no. 11). By RAYMOND ASA KENT, PH.D., sometime assistant professor of education in the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1918. ix, 183 p.)

In April, 1913, the Minnesota Legislature created a Public Education Commission to make an investigation of the public school system and public educational institutions of the state with the general purpose of effecting "economy and efficiency with respect to the several branches of public education." Dr.

Kent, who was secretary to the commission, has made use of the data collected to produce this monograph, which presents a more elaborate study than the formal report of the commission to the legislature.

Chapter 1 opens with a discussion of the problem confronting the commission: how state aid to separate groups of schools and to special departments of work has affected such schools or departments and their educational efficiency. A critical examination of the data collected, together with a statement of the method of the study, which, as the author says, is largely statistical, follows. Chapter 2 is an "Historical Summary of Legislation Affecting State Aid," in which it is shown that Minnesota has provided for educational purposes (1) general aid in the form of the current school fund, (2) high school aid, (3) graded school aid, (4) rural school aid, and (5) industrial aid. The statutes which are pertinent are quoted or summarized, and tables showing state expenditures under the various acts throughout the period covered are given. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 contain respectively a consideration of special aid to high schools, graded schools, and rural schools; in each case tables and text bring out such features as the size of corporate units, the attendance per pupil, the cost per pupil per day, the aid per pupil per day, the local school tax, and the percentage of state aid; and a comparative study of these statistics forms the content of chapter 6. Chapter 7 is devoted to special aid to industrial departments. The conclusions drawn from the study are stated in chapter 8. The high school board rules, the school laws passed by the legislature in 1915, and additional tables are contained in appendices.

The study as a whole is a valuable contribution; it will aid materially not alone in creating a better understanding of certain educational factors in Minnesota but in affording general enlightenment in a field where practically no investigational work has been done before. Perhaps one of the most striking conclusions of the author, certainly one on which great emphasis is placed, relates to the effect of state aid upon rural schools. While on the whole good results have come from state aid to high and graded schools, rural schools and the communities in which they are located have suffered as a result of such assis-

tance. "By encouraging the maintenance of the dwarf rural school," says Dr. Kent, "by having attached to its bestowal no conditions regarding enrollment, local taxation, local assessed valuation, and with extremely imperfect possibilities of checking whether the conditions presumed to be met have been met, state aid as it is at present distributed to the rural schools of Minnesota acts positively as a barrier to the advancement of the best interests of these schools and their patrons. It is educationally pauperizing the rural schools of the state." The danger in connection with aid given to special industrial departments lies in the lack of a definite aim and of "adequate standardization in its distribution."

The work is calculated to interest those who are trained in educational technology and in problems of school administration; hence it will make but small appeal to the layman unless he is willing to struggle through many tables that are not always explained in the clearest manner by the text. The style is marred by awkward expressions and frequently by unnecessarily involved sentences. One or two slips in proof reading, as, for example, "62 per cent" for "82 per cent" (p. 94), make it necessary for the reader to perform arithmetical calculations in order to correct erroneous statements. The valuable and illuminating graphs would be more usable were one set of symbols selected and strictly adhered to in all those where the same elements are under comparison. An analytical table of contents partly but not wholly makes up for the absence of an index, and the bibliography at the end would be more valuable had the author added a word or two of comment, especially in the case of the secondary works cited.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

History of Clay and Norman Counties, Minnesota; Their People, Industries, and Institutions. JOHN TURNER and C. K. SEMLING, joint editors. In two volumes. (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen and Company, 1918. 543, 915 p. Illustrated)

This work follows the plan upon which all recent Bowen histories of Minnesota counties are based and for the most part exhibits the merits and defects which have been noted in

these pages in reviews of Bowen and other commercial histories.[1] The first volume opens with a general introduction and a chapter on "Related State History"; this material is followed by a separate history of each county in the form of historical narratives, reminiscent accounts, extracts from official records, and statistical matter somewhat roughly divided and loosely bound together under such familiar topics as "Organization and County Government," "Agricultural Interests," "Bench and Bar," and "Military History." The second volume is devoted to biographical sketches, for the correctness of which in each case "the party interested" may be held responsible.

Clay and Norman counties are situated in the valley of the Red River of the North, a region famous in early days as a part of the fur trader's domain and as lying in the line of travel and commerce between points along the American frontier and settlements in far-off Canada, and equally well known in later years as a land of surpassing fertility. Unfortunately for the interest and distinctiveness of the *History of Clay and Norman Counties* the greater part of the detailed information given applies to the more prosaic period of some fifty years during which this region has been settled and developed, while the stirring events and activities of the earlier period are covered in a few brief paragraphs. The writer of the "Introduction" deplores this meagreness of treatment and ascribes it to the want of records and other sources of information. However justifiable this plea may be, there is some indication that full use has not been made of sources generally known to be available. For example, the structure of the famous Red River cart is indicated as follows: "Certain it is that the Red river wooden-wheeled carts passed over the trail that was still visible a few years since through these two counties—Clay and Norman. The writer has seen in the historic museum at New Ulm, Minnesota, one of those old rudely, yet strongly fashioned wooden-wheeled carts. . . . The wheels are made from a single cut from off the end of a large tree. They measure thirty inches in diameter and are bound heavily by wrought iron bands, and are attached to a heavy wooden axle by means of a linch-pin." Whatever use may have been made in its day of the cart preserved at New Ulm,

[1] See *ante*, 1: 378–386, 528; 2: 36–41, 85, 184.

it is certainly not one of those vehicles generally known as the Red River carts, as readily available descriptions and photographs of the latter will show. In fact, the genuine Red River cart may be recognized in a description of so-called Indian carts on page 261 of the same volume.

On the other hand, it is readily acknowledged that a great deal of useful information has been gotten together and made available through the medium of this work. The historical volume is unusually rich in the character and quality of some of its reminiscent accounts. Alvide Anderson, one of the woman pioneers of Clay County, recalls facts about pioneer days many of which are of the sort that too often go unrecorded as being too commonplace or trivial to be regarded as "history." The experience of A. O. Serum, a pioneer of Norman County, is frequently used to advantage. But most notable of all is an autobiographical sketch written by C. K. Semling, one of the editors of the present work. In this unusually interesting narrative Mr. Semling succeeds admirably in drawing, as he intended, "the picture . . . of an average immigrant family of peasant folk, and the attempts of the members of this family to adjust themselves to the new conditions in this our land of freedom and opportunity, and to 'get on,' as you may say." Beginning as it does with the life of the family in Norway before its emigration to America and following its history from the period of its establishment in its new home in Houston County, Minnesota, to the time when three of the sons removed to the Red River Valley, the account is worthy the attention of all students of the settlement of Minnesota. Special attention may here be called to the motive which led to the coming of this family to our land as suggested in the following excerpt from Mr. Semling's tribute to his parents: "Loaded down with the struggle of life in Norway, they embraced the momentous task of emigrating to America with eight children. . . . Had they sought their own convenience; had they chosen to follow the lines of least resistance, they would have remained in Norway. They undoubtedly had in mind securing easier conditions for their children than had been their own lot."

The publishers of this work have apparently entered upon the performance of a new and very important historical service in

gathering and publishing as a part of their "Military History" available information relating to the part played by men from these communities and by the communities themselves in the prosecution of the present war. Too much emphasis can not be placed upon the future historical importance of such material; and it is to be hoped not only that a larger amount of similar data will be embodied in forthcoming county histories but also that the clothing of this information, which is at the moment a matter of more or less common knowledge, in the garb of history will serve to suggest to people generally the wisdom of collecting local historical materials relative to the war at the time of their happening, and of carefully preserving them in order that the completed record may do the several communities due justice.

Franklin F. Holbrook

The Taming of the Sioux. By Frank Fiske. (Bismarck, North Dakota, Bismarck Tribune, 1917. 186 p. Illustrated)

This is an entertaining and instructive little book, giving a review of the history and transition of the Dakota or Sioux people "from a wild and warlike tribe to the present day Redman who loves peace and knows how to vote." The author is a young man whose home is at the old Fort Yates, the former Standing Rock agency, at the west side of the Missouri River in the south edge of North Dakota. He describes that post and agency for the thirty years from its founding in 1873 to its abandonment as a military post in 1903 as "the most important Sioux taming plant in the Indian country." He writes as one who knows his subject well, has sympathy with the Indians, but also sees the benefits of civilization.

Chapters or articles most nearly relating to Minnesota are entitled "The Outbreak of '62," "The Campaign of 1863," and "Other Forts and Fights," covering the period from Sully's expedition in 1864 to the building of Fort Buford, "commenced June 15th, 1866, on a high bench of table land on the Missouri, nearly opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone River."

Sixteen excellent full-page illustrations are supplied from photographs by the author; and numerous drawings are inserted at the ends of chapters, contributed by Francis Zahn (Holy Star), "a part Sioux of great talent."

Warren Upham

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The exercises for the dedication of the new building erected by the state of Minnesota for the use of the Minnesota Historical Society took place on Saturday, May 11, 1918, the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of the state to the Union. The first session was held at 3 P.M. in the main reading room of the building and was presided over by Mr. Charles P. Noyes, president of the society from 1915 to 1918 and chairman of the building committee. The state board of control, which had charge of the erection of the building, was represented by its chairman, the Honorable Ralph Wheelock, who formally turned the building over to the state. The Honorable C. G. Schulz, state superintendent of education, responded on behalf of Governor Burnquist, who was unable to be present, and formally intrusted the society with the use of the building. The trust was accepted on behalf of the society by its president, the Honorable Gideon S. Ives. Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, spoke on behalf of sister societies, after which brief addresses were delivered by Dr. Warren Upham, archeologist of the society and its secretary from 1893 to 1914, and by Dr. Solon J. Buck, the present secretary and superintendent.

At the close of the afternoon program the entire building was thrown open for inspection and hundreds of members and friends of the society, guided by members of the staff, made the tour through the offices, workrooms, stacks, reading rooms, museum, and galleries. The delegates and invited guests were then entertained at supper in the museum. Since the reading room proved too small to accommodate the audience in the afternoon, the evening session was transferred to the House Chamber in the Capitol. Here a large audience heard the inspiring dedicatory address by Dr. Frederick J. Turner, professor of history in Harvard University. Professor Turner's subject, "Middle Western Pioneer Democracy," was both appropriate to the occasion and of special significance at this time when the nation is engaged

in a war for the avowed purpose of making the world safe for democracy.

Many historical societies outside the state and nearly all the historical, pioneer, or patriotic societies and higher educational institutions of Minnesota were represented by delegates. The exercises were open to the public, but special invitations were sent to a number of citizens and descendants of citizens who have played a prominent part in the history of Minnesota or have rendered special services to the society. Many of these invitations were accepted; and the picture of those in attendance, taken on the steps of the building, shows a notable gathering. The large attendance from outside the Twin Cities was especially gratifying.

The society expects to publish in the near future a commemorative volume containing an account of the exercises, the addresses in full, a description of the building, and other pertinent material.

The society had the privilege of taking a leading part in the entertainment of the Mississippi Valley Historical Asssociation at its eleventh annual meeting held in St. Paul, May 9, 10, and 11, 1918. The superintendent was chairman of the committee on local arrangements and most of the members of the committee were officers or members of the society. Five of the seven sessions took place in the Historical Building, the forenoon and afternoon sessions on Friday being held at the University of Minnesota. The members of the association were guests of the society at a reception following the president's address, Thursday evening, and at the supper in connection with the dedication exercises on Saturday. The society joined with the St. Paul Association of Business and Public Affairs and the Twin City History Teachers' Club in entertaining the visitors at a luncheon on Saturday. The luncheon on Friday was tendered by members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota. Other social functions, arranged by the local committee, were an automobile ride on Thursday afternoon, followed by tea at the University Club of St. Paul, and a smoker for the men of the association at the Minnesota Club, Friday evening.

The attendance from outside Minnesota, about forty, was as large as could be expected under war-time conditions, and included several members from distant states. The visitors were enthusiastic over the new building. That they appreciated the entertainment provided is evident from the following somewhat flattering extracts from the note about the meeting in the June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* published by the association: "Among those who attended . . . the sentiment seemed to be unanimous that the committee on local arrangements was deserving of the greatest praise. Everything possible was done for the comfort and entertainment of those present. . . . It may safely be said that the social functions were more numerous and better arranged than is normally the case at such meetings."

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending July 31, 1918: Clarence C. Gray, G. Arvid Hagstrom, Mrs. Charles Hauser, and Dora C. Jett of St. Paul; William Anderson, Frances M. Morehouse, Mason W. Tyler, Frederick J. Wulling, and Jeremiah S. Young of Minneapolis; Edward W. Davies of Pipestone; Freeman E. Lurton and David H. Turner of Crookston; and Darius Steward of St. Cloud. The society has lost one member by death during the same period: Thomas Shaw of St. Paul, June 25.

The May number of the *Library Journal* contains an article entitled "Minnesota Historical Society Moves into New Building," by C. Edward Graves, librarian of the society. In it Mr. Graves describes in some detail the methods used in moving the library, the construction of the building, and the nature of the library collections. The frontispiece of the issue is a picture of the building. An excellent résumé of this article appears in the *Christian Science Monitor* for June 5.

The work of the manuscript department is now under the direction of Miss Ethel Virtue, formerly of the staff of the Historical Department of Iowa.

Gifts

Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul has deposited with the society the two commissions by authority of which her father, Alexander Ramsey, served from 1849 to 1853 as governor of the newly created Minnesota Territory. These commissions, dated respectively April 2, 1849, and January 9, 1850, were issued by President Taylor; the first upon his own authority, as the Senate was not in session, and the other, which confirmed and extended the appointment "during the pleasure of the president," and by and with the consent of the Senate.

The sons and daughters of Colonel William Pfaender of New Ulm, through one of their number, Mrs. Charles Hauser of St. Paul, have presented two articles of historical interest. One is a letter written May 1, 1862, by Alexander Ramsey, governor of Minnesota, to William Pfaender, then lieutenant commanding the First Minnesota Battery, with reference to his official report to the governor on the battle of Pittsburg Landing. This letter and the *St. Paul Press* version of the Pfaender report are framed together. The other gift is a framed group of photographs of the four men who were the presidential electors of Lincoln from Minnesota in 1860: Clark W. Thompson, Stephen Miller, Charles McClure, and William Pfaender.

General C. C. Andrews has recently made some additions to the collection of his papers already possessed by the society and has presented a set of forty-two photographs of scenes in Minnesota forest and Indian reservations and a number of books, periodicals, and pamphlets.

Mr. C. R. Bishop of St. James has presented an interesting original document entitled: "Statement of Expenses incurred by James Glispin, Sheriff of Watonwan County, Minn. in keeping, boarding, clothing and furnishing medical and Surgical accomodation to the Northfield Bank robber[s] while they were in his custody as prisoners from Sept 21st to Sept 23d 1876." The document was found among the papers of L. H. Bishop, who was an early settler in St. James.

Governor Burnquist has turned over to the society a letter from Alan R. Hawley, president of the Aero Club of America, which came to him by way of the first aero post from New York to Washington. The envelope is stamped "Air Mail Service, Wash., N. Y., Phila. May 15, 1918. First Trip. New York."

Through the courtesy of Mr. J. W. Dunnet and Mr. Charles P. Noyes, the society has received from Mr. F. W. Fahrenlock of St. Paul, a number of English parchments dating from the early years of the nineteenth century. They are interesting examples of the legal documents in use at that period and present a curious contrast to similar documents of the present day.

Miss Eugenie F. McGrorty has presented a copy of the *Permanent Rules of the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1857) used at the first session of the state legislature by her father, W. B. McGrorty, a representative from St. Paul, whose name is stamped on the cover. Miss McGrorty's gift is a valuable addition to the library, as the society has no other copy of this rare publication.

A file of the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,* from 1889 to 1916, inclusive (27 v.) has been presented by the Reverend William L. Porter, stated clerk of the St. Paul Presbytery. This accession makes the society's file of this important publication complete from 1872 to 1916.

To Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul the society is indebted for an unusual collection of old newspapers and printed material. It includes a partial file of the *Whip and Spur,* published at Newport, Rhode Island, during the campaign of 1840; a caricature of Andrew Jackson; the first issue of the *Lowell Offering,* a literary magazine published in the forties by the women employed in the Lowell mills; two early catalogues of the People's Literary Institute and Gymnasium at Pembroke, New Hampshire; and other interesting papers and broadsides. The collection was found in the old Josiah Bartlett Wiggin place at Stratham, New Hampshire.

A file of the *Big Lake Wave,* beginning with the first number, which was issued June 24, 1910, and extending through July 31, 1914, has been received from Samuel L. Rank of Big Lake, the first publisher.

The society has recently come into possession of a portrait, executed in oils by Miss Grace E. McKinstry of Faribault, of Henry B. Whipple, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Minnesota from 1859 to 1901. The fund which made possible its acquisition was raised by subscription among the Episcopal clergymen of the state and personal friends of the bishop through the efforts of the Reverend George C. Tanner of Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, and the late Reverend William C. Pope of St. Paul.

To the portrait collection has been added a large oil painting of Morton S. Wilkinson, the first practicing lawyer in Minnesota and United States senator from 1859 to 1865. The picture is the gift of his grandson, Morton S. Brewster of Wells.

Miss Mary O'Brien of St. Paul, through the courtesy of her brother, Judge Thomas D. O'Brien, has presented an excellent oil portrait of her father, Mr. Dillon O'Brien. Mr. O'Brien, who came to the Twin Cities in the early sixties, is best known for his efforts in behalf of the movement to bring Irish colonists to the United States. Also, as an author and lecturer, he did a great deal to further the cause of temperance in Minnesota.

An enlarged, framed photograph of Mrs. Angeline B. Hinckley has been received from her niece, Mrs. Claude C. Kyle of St. Paul. Mrs. Hinckley came to Minnesota in 1842 with her husband, Henry Jackson, who established the first general store in St. Paul, and served as the first justice of the peace, the first postmaster, and as a member of the first council of the town. In 1852 Mr. Jackson assisted in organizing the townsite company which founded Mankato, and in 1853 removed to that settlement, where he died in 1857. Later Mrs. Jackson married John S. Hinckley, who was also one of the first members of the townsite company.

Dr. Arthur M. Eastman of Minneapolis has presented a framed photograph of Mrs. Henry T. Welles. Mrs. Welles, whose husband was long prominent in the business and public affairs of Minneapolis and of Minnesota, came to St. Anthony in 1853.

A large framed portrait of Simeon P. Folsom, one of Basil Gervais, the first white child born in St. Paul, and a framed group of excellent photographs, taken in 1858, of members of the "Old Pioneer Guard" of St. Paul have been received from Mrs. James J. Hill. Mr. Hill was a member of the guard and his picture appears among the others.

Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis has presented through Mr. E. A. Bromley a photograph of George A. Pillsbury. Mr. Pillsbury, who came to Minneapolis in 1878, was a member of the well-known milling firm of Charles A. Pillsbury and Company, and was prominently identified with various financial, religious, and educational institutions of the city and state. He served two terms as mayor of Minneapolis, from April, 1884, to April, 1886.

A framed photograph of the late Charles Keith, a prominent lawyer of Princeton, has been presented to the society by his widow. At the same time Mrs. Keith donated to the museum collection an old flint-lock musket, which was one of her husband's most valued possessions. From data supplied by the donor and from inscriptions accompanying the weapon, it appears that it was one of five hundred similar arms made in Charleville Arsenal, France, and brought to this country by Lafayette during the Revolutionary War, another of the same shipment being preserved at Mt. Vernon. According to the signed statement of one Harriet Kester of Geauga County, Ohio, the musket was owned and used by her grandfather, John Kester, in the Revolutionary War. Mr. Keith, who purchased the weapon of Davis Brothers, Kent, Ohio, in January, 1910, has identified this John Kester with one whose name and record as a soldier in the continental army appear in *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War,* 9:143. The musket is in excellent

condition, with bayonet, ramrod, and flint in place, a charge alone being required to make it as formidable a weapon as ever.

A collection of forty-seven photographs, consisting principally of views of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis in the fifties and early sixties, has been presented by Miss Ella Richards of St. Paul. The photographs were the property of her father, Edward Richards, who was for many years city editor of the *Pioneer Press*. Their value for historical purposes is enhanced by keys to the location of important buildings.

Mr. A. A. Richardson, a Bemidji photographer who has taken great interest in the preservation of pictorial records of local war activities, has presented several excellent photographs taken by him at the first annual encampment of the Fourteenth Battalion, Minnesota Home Guards, held at "Camp Pershing," Park Rapids, from July 4 to 7. These include pictures of drills, reviews, the field hospital, and the staff. Such material is not only of great interest now but is certain in the course of time to become invaluable.

The society has received from Mr. Lewis H. Delano of St. Paul a picture of the "Anson Northup," the first steamboat to navigate the Red River of the North. This steamer, which was originally called the "North Star," was built in 1855 for use on the Mississippi above St. Anthony. In the fall of 1858 it was taken apart and transported overland from the Crow Wing to the Red River, rebuilt, and put into service for its first run to Fort Garry, May 17, 1859.

An attractive little landscape showing Fort Snelling and the valley of the Minnesota River is the gift of Mrs. George E. Ingersoll of St. Paul. The picture was painted by Mrs. Robert N. MacLaren, mother of Mrs. Ingersoll, sometime during the period 1864–65, when her husband, Colonel MacLaren, was in command of the Second Minnesota Volunteer Cavalry stationed at Fort Snelling.

A picture of the first ice palace erected in St. Paul has been presented by Mrs. William R. Weide of Madison, South Dakota. It was painted by John A. Weide in 1886.

An addition to the museum which is attracting considerable attention is an old electric automobile presented by Mr. J. George Smith. Although brought to St. Paul less than a score of years ago, in June, 1900, this car was the first electric and one of the first automobiles of any kind in the city. It resembles a buggy much more than it does any motor vehicle of the present day. An account of the car containing a number of interesting anecdotes and accompanied by a photograph appeared in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of June 23.

From the Reverend Hugh L. Burleson, bishop of South Dakota, the society has received a fragment of the flag carried by the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the first battle of Bull Run. The fragment was secured by the donor's father, the Reverend Solomon S. Burleson, during his rectorate of All Saints' Parish, Northfield, from 1864 to 1870.

From Mrs. John D. Heaton of Annandale the society has received a rifle and powderhorn once the property of Frank Heaton, a pioneer of Middleville and Albion townships, Wright County.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Of the twenty-five papers read at the eleventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at St. Paul, May 9, 10, and 11, the following are of Minnesota interest or by Minnesota people: "Six Constitutions of the Far Northwest," by John D. Hicks of Hamline University; "Some Relations of the Upper Mississippi Valley with Lake Superior in the Civil War Period," by Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota; "The Collapse of the Steamboat Traffic upon the Mississippi: An Inquiry into Causes," by Paul W. Brown of St. Louis; "An Undeveloped Phase of American History" (referring to agricultural history), by Herbert A. Kellar of Chicago; and "The Relation of the County Farm Bureau and the County Agent to the Collection of Local Historical Data Relating to Agriculture," by W. A. Lloyd of Washington. The annual address of the president, St. George L. Sioussat of Brown University, Providence, was on the subject, "Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Bill." At the luncheon on the last day of the meeting an inspiring patriotic address on the war and America's part in it was delivered by Thomas F. Moran of Purdue University. This feature of the program was furnished by the Committee on Public Information of the national government.

The Canadian government has recently established a Board of Historical Publications in connection with the Public Archives of Canada. The chairman of this board is to be a salaried official whose whole time will be devoted to the work of editing and supervising the publication of documents illustrative of the history of Canada in all its phases. The Dominion, with its archives department and building, was already far in advance of the United States in historical work; and that it should take another forward step at this time, when its resources are strained by the war, is evidence of an intelligent comprehension of the importance of history to the commonwealth.

The Loubat prizes for the two best works in the English language published during the last five years in the fields of

geography, archeology, ethnology, philology, numismatics, or history of North America before the Revolution have recently been awarded by Columbia University. Dr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois received the first prize of a thousand dollars for his two-volume work entitled *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics;* and the second prize of four hundred dollars was awarded to Dr. Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California for his book entitled *José de Gálvez, Visitor-general of New Spain, 1765–1771.*

The National Board for Historical Service has announced the results of the prize essay contests conducted in various states for the best essays by public school teachers on the subject, "Why the United States Is at War." The section of the announcement concerning the contest in Minnesota, as printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for April is as follows:

"Contest in charge of Dr. Solon J. Buck, Superintendent, Minnesota Historical Society.

"*Committees of Award*—Group A: Prof. William S. Davis, University of Minnesota; John DeQuincy Briggs, St. Paul Academy; President Marion L. Burton, University of Minnesota. Group B: Prof. John D. Hicks, Hamline University, St. Paul; Chief Justice Calvin L. Brown, St. Paul; Prof. Willis M. West, Grand Rapids.

"Essays submitted, 29.

"*Group A:*

First Prize: R. D. Bowden, High School, Fairfax.

Second Prize: Ruth West, 303 Washington Avenue, S. E., Minneapolis (North High School).

Third Prize: Ralph L. Henry, Hastings (New Ulm High School).

Fourth Prize: Rose Susan Guinn, 111 East Superior Street, Duluth (Denfeld High School).

Fifth Prize: Clara E. Willard, High School, Cambridge.

"*Group B:*

First Prize: Anne Devany, 3707 Park Avenue, Minneapolis.

Second Prize: Frances E. Gardner, 1011 River Road, S. E., Minneapolis.

Third Prizes: Lillie Iverson, R. F. D. 1, Glyndon (District 82); Letitia King, Wendell; Della Tomlinson, Hutchinson; Isabel Hutchison, Alexandria; Walter J. Schwalje, Ulen."

For Group A, consisting of teachers in high schools, the prizes were seventy-five, thirty, twenty, fifteen, and ten dollars; for Group B, consisting of teachers in elementary schools, the first prize was seventy-five dollars, the second, twenty-five, and there were five third prizes of ten dollars each. The winning essays in each group have been entered in a national contest, the results of which have not yet been announced.

Patriotic and hereditary societies in search of appropriate activities which will have permanent and valuable results should know of the fellowships for research in California history established at the University of California by the Native Sons of the Golden West. The first fellow was appointed for the year 1911–12, and since then there have been two fellowships available each year. The amount of each is fifteen hundred dollars, a sum sufficiently large to enable the holder to work in Spain or wherever else the sources of California history may be found. The fellowships have resulted in the discovery and collection of valuable materials and in the publication of books and articles which are significant contributions to the history of the state. They have made possible, moreover, the training of a number of scholars, some of whom will doubtless continue their research work in this field. The plan of the fellowships and the achievements of the different fellows are set forth in an article by Charles E. Chapman in the April issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

An editorial in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for May–June entitled "Conserving Historical Material" calls attention to the work of the Minnesota Historical Society in building up a Scandinavian-American collection and concludes with the statement: "The Society ought to have the coöperation of all who possess or know of any old documents that will add to our knowledge of Scandinavian history in America." A discussion of "Writers of Swedish Life in America," by Oliver A. Linder, in the same number of the *Review*, will be helpful to the historian

in search of information about social and economic conditions among these people.

The three articles in the July issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are all of more than local interest. "Frontier Defense in Iowa, 1850–1865," by Dan E. Clark, has to do principally with measures for the protection of the northwestern frontier against the Sioux Indians and deals with the Spirit Lake massacre and the effects in Iowa of the Sioux uprising of 1862. W. W. Gist, in "Ages of the Soldiers in the Civil War," points out that there is no foundation for the statistics of ages which have frequently appeared in the press, and by a study of available data relating to the soldiers of Minnesota and of typical regiments from other states, reaches the conclusion that there is no ground for the somewhat prevalent belief that the Civil War was fought and won by boys. Of the Minnesota soldiers, for example, he finds that over fifty per cent enlisted at twenty-five or older and eight per cent were forty or over when they entered the army. The third article is an interesting study of "The Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations during the Civil War," by Louis B. Schmidt.

The issue of *Iowa and War* for May consists of a sketch of "The Spirit Lake Massacre," by Dan E. Clark. This is based upon the manuscript of a book with the same title by Thomas Teakle, which is soon to be published by the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Norsk Americaneran is the title of an interesting quarterly magazine started in September, 1916, by Martin Ulvestad of Seattle, Washington. It is devoted chiefly to material on the immigration and early settlements of Norwegians in the United States.

Scott Burton, Forester (New York, 1917. 310 p.) is the title of a book by Edward G. Cheyney, in which he traces the college career of a young man who is taking a course in forestry. The book is of especial interest to Minnesotans because it deals with a profession in which this state offers unusual opportunities, and also because the scene is laid at the University of Minnesota and the university's camp at Lake Itasca.

The fourth volume (volume 2 of the *Text*) of Thomas Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (London and New York, 1917. xxv, 734 p.) embraces the activities of this order from 1645 to 1773. The student of northwestern history will be especially interested in that part of the work devoted to the Jesuit missions in Canada, which were at a high point of development during this period, and which formed a starting point for missionary movements, exploratory in character, in every direction. The movement westward to Lake Superior and the Mississippi Válley is all too briefly handled in pages 252–259. The account of the Iroquois missions and of the efforts put forth by both Canada and the English colony of New York to gain the alliance and friendship of these tribes—a contest which vitally affected the history of the West—has nowhere else been so exhaustively and vividly treated (pp. 334–434). Copious annotations, revealing a vast amount of scholarship and research, add authoritativeness. The documentary material for the present text is included in the previously issued *Documents,* vol. 1, parts 1 and 2, of this same work.

Readers of "Captain Potter's Recollections of Minnesota Experiences" in the Bulletin for November, 1916, will be interested to know of the existence of a book entitled *The Autobiography of Theodore Edgar Potter* (228 p). This was privately printed for the family under the supervision of Mr. George C. Sprague of New York in 1913 and was unknown to the editor of the Bulletin until recently. The last five chapters are practically identical with the "Recollections," lacking, of course, the annotations. A copy of the book, presented by Mr. Sprague, is now in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Under the title "1861–1917 War Calls Found Minnesota Ready; Nation Unprepared," the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 5 quotes at length from John D. Hicks's article on "The Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861 with Special Reference to Minnesota," which appeared in the February issue of the Bulletin.

The present year, 1918, marks the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University of Minnesota. The elaborate plans which had been tentatively made to celebrate this anniversary in a fitting manner were abandoned on account of the war, and the occasion was marked only by a formal program at the Armory on the university campus on June 19 of commencement week. The addresses were given by the three former presidents of the institution, each of whom, in turn, reviewed the history of his own administration. The early growth of the university from 1868 to 1884 along the lines suggested by the broad and far-seeing wisdom of its first president was traced in a most entertaining and informing way by Dr. William W. Folwell. Cyrus Northrop, whose term of service covered twenty-seven years—the period of the university's most rapid development—continued the narrative, emphasizing especially what he believed to be his most important contribution, the "popularizing" of the university. Dr. George E. Vincent, president from 1911 to 1917, sketched very briefly the events of his administration; then, noting that "its semi-centennial . . . coincides with a turning point in the national life," he drew a vivid picture of the possibilities for service that are to be open to the university in the future. The three addresses are included in the June 24 issue of the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*.

To commemorate the closing of the tenth year of the school, and also the sixtieth anniversary of the year of the admission of Minnesota as a state, West High School of Minneapolis gave a pageant, "The Advance of Liberty," as a part of its graduation exercises, on June 13. In the libretto, written by members of the English department, Liberty calls upon the school to show what it has done for the North Star State. Each department replies with a tableau illustrating its contribution. The early history of the state was outlined by groups of Indians, of *voyageurs* headed by Radisson, and of priests, led by Father Hennepin.

At the close of the school year the pupils of the Clara Barton School, Minneapolis, gave an historical pageant entitled "Onward March of Civilization," in which the characters of Daniel Boone, David Crockett, and other western explorers played a conspicuous part.

Fifty old settlers of Hennepin County, all members of the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers' Association, gathered at the Godfrey House, Richard Chute Square, Minneapolis, June 1, to celebrate the sixty-ninth anniversary of the proclamation of Governor Alexander Ramsey inaugurating the government of Minnesota Territory. Other old settlers' associations which have held meetings during the past three months are: Minnesota Territorial Pioneers at the Old Capitol, St. Paul, May 11; Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association at Spicer, June 18; Old Settlers', Soldiers', and Sailors' Association of Fillmore County at Preston, June 19; Old Settlers' Association of Traverse County at Graceville, June 22; and Junior Pioneers' Association of St. Anthony at Columbia Heights, Minneapolis, June 29. The settlers of Warren, Marshall County, organized an association, June 23. On account of the war the annual meeting of the Stearns County Old Settlers' Association will not be held this year.

The Junior Pioneers' Association of St. Anthony Falls was formed May 3, 1918, with Dr. A. M. Eastman as president and M. P. Satterlee as secretary. Membership is open to "all those who lived in old St. Anthony from the time of its first organization into a town (and afterwards into the city of St. Anthony), up to the time it was taken into and became a part of the city of Minneapolis, which was on April 9th, 1872." The association held a basket picnic at Columbia Park, Minneapolis, on June 29.

In the May–June number of the *North Woods* (St. Paul), in an article entitled "What Forestry Has Done for the Chippewa Indians," General C. C. Andrews, secretary of the state forestry board, outlines the specific advantages which the Chippewa have enjoyed through "the application of forestry principles in the disposal of their pine timber" during the last fourteen years.

An account of Swedish emigration to the United States by Ernest A. Spongberg is running serially in the *Duluth Posten,* beginning in the issue of May 24. The installments so far published deal with the Northmen and the early settlements on the Delaware.

Milton O. Nelson traces the beginnings and development of Swedish Lutheranism in Minneapolis in the May 19 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal*. Of especial interest is his discussion of the work of the Augustana Lutheran Church under the direction of the Reverend C. J. Petri, who has been its pastor for thirty years.

In the section of "Old River Boats," in the June 8 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, there is printed a biography of Warren G. Wood, who helped to found and manage the "Diamond Joe" line.

The *St. Paul Dispatch* of May 20 devotes nearly an entire section to a description of the Mesaba iron range, including articles on the origin, development, and present condition of the range towns of Hibbing, Buhl, Mountain Iron, and Eveleth. The section is profusely illustrated with pictures of the iron mines and of public buildings in the towns.

"Fortunes Restored to Victims of Indian Land Scandal," is the title of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* of May 5, which deals with the history of the distribution of the lands on the White Earth Indian reservation. Pictures of a number of Indians on the reservation accompany the article.

A description of the various ferries and bridges that have been used to connect the east and west banks of the Mississippi River at Minneapolis may be found in the June 13 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal*. This is printed in connection with a notice of the completion and dedication of the new Third Avenue bridge, a picture of which accompanies the articles.

The June 2 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal* contains an account of how an "Iowa Mill First Gave Minneapolis Flour" in the territorial days when the government mill at Fort Snelling was the only one in the region. A picture of the mill, which is located at Elkader, Iowa, accompanies the article.

The *Staples World* of June 13, in connection with its account of the dedication of the Staples Sacred Heart Catholic Church, reviews the history of that congregation from the time of its organization, in 1890, to the present.

Under the title "Historical Sketches" the *Slayton Gazette* in its issue of May 9 and 16 prints the history of the organizations of the various townships in Murray County and traces the origin of their names. The data for the article were furnished by Neil Currie, who was assisted by John H. Low, a pioneer of the county.

A short account of the beginnings of "Catholicity in Minneapolis" is contained in the April 27 issue of the *Northwestern Chronicle* (St. Paul).

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DAKOTA PORTRAITS

Introduction

These "Dakota Portraits," written by the Reverend Stephen R. Riggs in 1858, were published in the *Minnesota Free Press* of St. Peter at irregular intervals from January 27 to July 14, 1858. The newspaper itself was a weekly, edited by William C. Dodge, and appeared for the first time on May 27, 1857. With the issue of November 17, 1858, its publication was, for financial reasons, temporarily suspended. In April of the following year, however, the paper resumed publication under the name of the *St. Peter Free Press* and it continued to be issued until December 21 of that year, when the plant was destroyed by fire.[1] The last issue in the file of the Minnesota Historical Society is dated December 7, 1859.

Because of his long residence among the Dakota Indians, Riggs was peculiarly well fitted to describe their characteristics. The sketches are written from his own personal knowledge, and present a number of persons who are scarcely known apart from his account of them. The author was a Presbyterian missionary to the Sioux. He was born in Ohio in 1812, a descendant of " a long line of godly men, ministers of the gospel and others," and received a good education at Jefferson College and Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pennsylvania. After he was licensed as a preacher, he was sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to aid Dr. Thomas S. Williamson in his work with the Indians of the Northwest.

Riggs and his wife arrived at Fort Snelling to begin their labors in June, 1837, and spent the summer with the Reverend Jedediah Stevens at Lake Harriet. Traveling by Mackinaw boat and wagon, the missionaries reached Lac qui Parle the middle of September. For five years they worked among the

[1] Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 10:317 (part 1).

Indians at that point and, with the help of Joseph Renville Sr., translated parts of the Bible into the Dakota language.

In June, 1843, after a trip east, Riggs, with the assistance of Robert Hopkins, a new man in the field, opened a mission at Traverse des Sioux. At first the Indians, influenced by other tribes farther south, appeared to be inimical to the undertaking, but gradually the hostility wore away, and the native church increased its membership. Whiskey was always a cause of trouble, and in 1846 the missionary narrowly escaped death from the bullet of a drunken Indian. Men, women, and children were intoxicated for days. On several occasions the Riggs home was invaded, and violent demands were made for food and drink. Alexander G. Huggins was assigned to the station in September, 1846, and Riggs returned to Lac qui Parle to take the place of Dr. Williamson, who was transferred to a new field with the Lower Indians at Kaposia. In July, 1851, Riggs acted as one of the interpreters at the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, and he helped materially in explaining the terms to the Indians. The following year under the patronage, and with the assistance of, the Minnesota Historical Society he published his *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language* as one of the Smithsonian Institution's *Contributions to Knowledge.*

Further changes in the locations of the Dakota mission stations were determined upon after the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux as the Indians were gradually shifted to the reservations in the western part of the state. Dr. Williamson had chosen a new site on the Yellow Medicine River in 1852 which he called Payzhehooteze, and two years later Riggs followed him to that region. The Hazelwood mission with its companion institution, the Hazelwood republic, situated some five miles above the Upper Sioux Agency, was organized by the Riggs party as a center for agricultural and educational work among the Indians, and as the Indian office reports show, did a good work in civilizing the bands near the agency. When the Indian outbreak of 1862 began, the Hazelwood party came down to the settlements. Riggs volunteered for service and was commissioned chaplain to General Sibley's forces. The mission

station, destroyed during the trouble, was not rebuilt, as the Indians were transferred to reservations in Dakota and Nebraska. The missionaries moved westward with them. New men were sent to the field, and Riggs became an organizer of additional stations without a permanent mission of his own. He died in Beloit, Wisconsin, in 1883, three years after the publication of his autobiography.[2]

Writing in 1858, Riggs shows the relations existing between the leaders among the Indians and the advance guards of the white invasion during the interval between the Inkpaduta massacre of 1857 and the general outbreak of 1862. The Indians were beginning to feel the pressure of settlement behind them, and the contraction of their hunting grounds. A letter from Dr. Thomas S. Williamson to Agent T. J. Galbraith on June 2, 1862, two months before the massacre, gave warning of Indian troubles. "It is a new edition of the tale which we have had every year, except one, since 1857."[3] There is little evidence in the "Dakota Portraits" that a clash was foreseen, but Riggs has ably described the natural leaders of an outbreak, their customs and traditions. Always on the frontier among the people to whom his life had been devoted, he was able to see and estimate the men around him, and to make his reader appreciate their real worth.

The reprint of the sketches which follows is literal except that it has not seemed necessary to reproduce the eccentricities of punctuation and capitalization or the obvious typographical errors of the *Minnesota Free Press*. For the sake of uniformity, liberties have also been taken with the spelling of tribal names, the model followed in this respect being the *Handbook of American Indians* published by the American Bureau of Ethnology.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[2] This book, *Mary and I; Forty Years with the Sioux*, published in Chicago in 1880, has furnished much of the information for the above sketch of his career.

[3] *The Dakotan*, 5:211 (November, 1902).

Sleepy Eyes[4]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* January 27, 1858]

"Who is Sleepy Eyes?" some of your readers may ask. To this question I propose to give an answer in this article. When Sleepy Eyes, or Ishtahba, which is very literally translated by Sleepy Eyes, was born, I can not tell, for the Dakotas in past times had neither family record nor town clerk. I should judge, however, from the appearance of the man, who was old many years ago, that he was born some twenty years back in the last century. For a half a century or more the Swan Lake country with its ducks and geese, and "many swans" in former days, with its turtles, its fish, its muskrats, and wild rice, was the home of Sleepy Eyes.[5] And the old man loved that country, for at the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851 he asked of the commis-

[4] Sleepy Eyes (Ishtaba or Ishtahumba), a chief of the Lower Sisseton Sioux, was born near the present site of Mankato. He was the recognized chief from Carver to Lac qui Parle, but his people were so scattered that each little village was practically independent. He is described in 1836 as large and well-proportioned, of rather dignified appearance, good-natured and plausible, but lacking distinction as a hunter or warrior. Although Sleepy Eyes is always spoken of as being well disposed toward the whites, he and members of his personal band took part in the outbreak of 1862, being directly responsible for the massacres at Lake Shetek and other points on the southwestern frontier. They later made their way to Dakota Territory and for several years were a constant menace to the Minnesota settlements. The death of Sleepy Eyes is said to have occurred in South Dakota, but the date has not been ascertained. Henry H. Sibley to General John Pope, October 5, 1862; William Jayne, governor of Dakota Territory, and others to the president of the United States, December 24, 1862; Pope to Sibley, September 30, 1864, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* serial 19, p. 711; serial 32, p. 867; serial 85, p. 526; Frederick W. Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:601 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins,* no. 30—Washington, 1910); Samuel W. Pond, "The Dakotas as They Were in 1834," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:330; Thomas McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America,* 2:109 (Philadelphia, 1849).

[5] Swan Lake is in the southern part of Nicollet County, a short distance east of New Ulm. Riggs constantly speaks of the village of Sleepy Eyes near the lake, and notes that the chief occasionally rode in to spend the night with the trader, Provençalle, at Traverse des Sioux.

sioners the privilege of living and dying there; and Commissioner Lea told him in public council that it should be as he desired. But promises made even by officers of government in such circumstances are of very little account, when the stipulations of the treaty and the interests of the white race both required his removal. Not, however, until the spring of 1857 did efforts made for that purpose accomplish the object. Then, with a part of his people he removed to this neighborhood, and planted a little on the Yellow Medicine.[6]

For many years past the old man has not been what he once was. Time has stiffened his limbs, furrowed his face, and much impaired his mental faculties. Soon, undoubtedly, he will be numbered with the nations of the dead. Indeed, some weeks ago

A map of land cessions in Minnesota shows an "old Sisseton village" at the mouth of the Big Cottonwood River, on both sides of the Minnesota, and west of Swan Lake, which may have been the home of Sleepy Eyes. The town of Sleepy Eye was named for him, and his remains were finally buried there. Charles C. Royce (compiler), *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, map 33 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, part 2—Washington, 1899); Riggs, *Mary and I*, 87; Louis A. Fritsche (ed.), *History of Brown County, Minnesota*, 1:316, 320 (Indianapolis, 1916).

Edward D. Neill, writing in 1853, in "Dakota Land and Dakota Life," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1:260 (1872 edition), places the country of the Sisseton Sioux, the tribe to which Sleepy Eyes belonged, around Lake Traverse and the Coteau des Prairies, but this people in the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux ceded lands far east of that region.

[6] By the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, signed July 23, 1851, the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux ceded their lands in the Territory of Minnesota southwest of a line drawn from the Red River just north of Moorhead to St. Cloud, and thence down the Mississippi. The western boundary of the cession was the Big Sioux River from Watertown to Sioux Falls in what is now South Dakota. Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, and Alexander Ramsey, governor of Minnesota Territory, on the part of the United States agreed that the government would pay $1,665,000, partly in annuities extending over a period of fifty years, partly in agricultural materials, and partly in money directly to the chiefs. Special reservations, not necessarily permanent, were established along the upper Minnesota River, from the Yellow Medicine to Lake Traverse, to which the Indians were to go. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2:588 (Washington, 1904).

we heard he had died down near Fort Ridgely,[7] but the report proved to be false.

Although I had, through others, become somewhat acquainted with the chief of Swan Lake soon after coming into the country in 1837, it was not until six years later, when we were instructed to commence a mission station at Traverse des Sioux, that my particular personal acquaintance commenced. For several years he and his wife were frequent guests at our house, and they were always welcome, for besides being always glad to see the genial countenance of the old man, they brought us sugar and wild rice, cranberries, ducks, venison, and sometimes muskrats. For the latter we had no liking, but common courtesy required that we should take kindly what was kindly meant; and after he had carried his load twenty miles, it would have been rude in the extreme, in his estimation, for us to have refused to give him flour for his meat. On one occasion we committed a mistake of a grave character. Among the Dakotas a man who has come to be your guest does not expect to be fed out of what he may have brought you. But on the occasion to which I refer some of the old man's muskrats were cooked and served up with bread for his evening meal. He very good-naturedly remarked that he had plenty of muskrats at home, and that he had brought them for our use and not his own.

It has been remarked by most persons acquainted with Indian character and customs that a Dakota chieftain was great in proportion as he had developed the faculty of begging successfully. But Sleepy Eyes was comparatively not a great beggar, and perhaps on that ground he failed of being a great chief. It must not be understood, however, that he could not, or did not, on proper occasions, in this only possible way for a Dakota chief,

[7] Fort Ridgely, established in 1853 to afford protection to the frontier settlements, was situated on the crest of the high bluffs rising from the north bank of the Minnesota River in the northwestern part of Nicollet County. The post withstood successfully a siege by the Sioux during the outbreak of 1862. About 1868 it was abandoned, and only the cemetery and a monument mark the site. William G. Gresham (ed.), *History of Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties, Minnesota,* 1:177, 179 (Indianapolis, 1916); *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars,* 2:171–186 (St. Paul, 1893); A. T. Andreas, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota,* 70 (Chicago, 1874).

exact the rightful tribute from white people. And, as might be expected, the old man always did it gracefully and good-humoredly. He once desired me to write a note for him to Colonel Bruce, who was then Indian agent at Fort Snelling.[8] After the usual compliments he wished his father would be so kind as to give him *a pair of moccasins*. Not at the time understanding the boldness of the figure, I suggested that he would say a pair of shoes, as the agent could probably procure them much easier than he could moccasins. I shall always remember the droll expression of the old man's face, when he looked straight at me and said, "Did you think I meant common moccasins? I meant a horse."

Another good quality which Sleepy Eyes has above most of his compeers is that he can take no for an answer without appearing to be offended.

A Dakota chief is usually less benefited by what he begs than are most of his people. What is received in this way must, in all ordinary circumstances, be divided by the soldiers. It is not strange, then, that the chiefs should often desire to have the gifts so individual and personal as to preclude thus passing into the soldiers' hands. On one occasion the old man of Swan Lake desired me to ask the white chief to place a blanket on his shoulders that it might be his without any hard feelings on the part of his people.

It is reported of Sleepy Eyes that he tried to stop the first steamboat that came up the Minnesota as far as Traverse des Sioux.[9] But the old man may well be excused when we con-

[8] Amos J. Bruce was United States Indian agent at St. Peter's from 1839 to 1848. United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Reports,* 1841–48.

[9] The small steamer "Argo" with an excursion party from Fort Snelling made an experimental trip up the Minnesota River as far as the Indian village of Shakopee in 1842, as Mrs. Mary H. Eastman tells in her *Dahcotah; or Life and Legends of the Sioux,* 113–116 (New York, 1849). Commercial steamboating on the Minnesota really began, however, with the first excursion of the "Anthony Wayne" on June 28, 1850, to a Wahpeton village at Little Rapids, some sixty miles up the river. The *Minnesota Pioneer* for July 4 heralds it as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the territory. Not to be outdone, the "Nominee," a rival boat, went up to the present site of Carver on July 11, according to the *Minnesota Chronicle and Register* of July 15. A week later the "Anthony Wayne" with a large number of tourists left on its second trip

sider that his was not the first insane attempt to resist progress. Nevertheless, the chief of Swan Lake has usually been a firm friend of white people. The case of Bennett will illustrate this.

"If you take me home with you, I will serve you forever," said Bennett to me in Sleepy Eyes' lodge in the last days of August, 1844. He was a young man of two and twenty, who, with two others, had come up in the employ of a Mr. Turner with a drove of cattle from the state of Missouri. These they were driving to Fort Snelling to fulfill a contract, but never having traveled through the country before, they kept too far to the west, and when they came to the Minnesota, probably not far from New Ulm, supposing it to be Turkey River, Bennett says, they crossed over and kept to the northwest.[10] Still not perceiving their error, although they had fallen into the road which passes up the Mississippi [*sic*] to Red River, they went on until they were met by a war party of Dakotas from Lake Traverse. This war party was returning from an unsuccessful campaign against the Ojibways, hungry, and in no very friendly state of mind. Supposing Turner and his party to be men from the settlement of Lord Selkirk, against whom they had occasion to feel hardly, the Dakotas treated them roughly.[11] Having

up the Minnesota. The excursionists spent the second night at the mission of Traverse des Sioux, and then, after going about as far as the site of Mankato, a hundred and sixty miles from the mouth of the river, turned back toward St. Paul. The *Minnesota Pioneer* for July 25 describes the trip of this first steamer to reach Traverse des Sioux. The "Yankee" on July 22 set out to make a record, and went three hundred miles up the Minnesota, to a point a little above the village of Judson, in Blue Earth County. Provisions began to give out at that time, and hence the vessel turned back, but the marker indicating the limit reached stood for some time unchallenged. Goodhue, in the *Minnesota Pioneer* for August 1, gives an elaborate narrative of this excursion. Nothing is said in any of these accounts, however, of an attempt of Sleepy Eyes to stop the boat. See also Thomas Hughes, "History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 10:133–137 (part 1).

[10] The Turkey River rises in northeastern Iowa and flows southeast into the Mississippi River some twenty-five miles north of Dubuque.

[11] Mrs. Riggs says that the dispute between the Sioux and the Red River settlers was about hunting buffalo. Riggs, *Mary and I,* 91.

The Selkirk colony in the Red River Valley was established in 1812

taken away their guns, they proceeded to take off their clothing. This one of the white men resisted, and was shot down. Some of the cattle were killed, and the other three men were stripped of all that was valuable, and taken into camp. The cattle had now scattered off. As they desired more beef, one of the white men was sent, with Indians, to bring them up. Getting away from his captors in this way, he escaped, only to perish on the prairie, as he was not heard of afterwards.

Turner, the owner of the cattle, remained with Bennett. Their coats, pantaloons, and shoes were taken from them, and an old pair of moccasins given to each instead. As he could not swim, Turner was anxious to have them restore his life preserver, but they would not. One gave them a piece of beef roasted on a stick. Then, without a knife of any kind but with the means of making fire, they were dismissed. For four days they came, following the trail they had made when going, often seeing their own cattle, but unable to kill one to furnish themselves with food. In trying to cross a swollen stream the unfortunate Turner was drowned, and Bennett left alone. After this he traveled five days without food, except some hazelnuts. He attempted to catch frogs, but was not able.

The ninth day from their escape he reached the old Lac qui Parle road, from which the encampment of Sleepy Eyes at

by Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, near the present site of Winnipeg, on land granted to him by the Hudson's Bay Company. The first settlers were chiefly Scotch Highlanders. Trouble with the Northwest Company, whose posts were in the region, developed, and the colony dragged out a miserable existence for several years. Lord Selkirk himself visited the Red River settlement in 1816 and reorganized it, but successive plagues of locusts, starvation, and desertion prevented a rapid growth. In 1821 a party of Swiss, attracted by glowing accounts of the new country, arrived, but most of them left after the severe floods of the year 1826. Accounts of the Selkirk colony may be found in Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (*Oxford Historical and Literary Studies,* vol. 7—Oxford, 1916); Charles N. Bell, *The Selkirk Settlement and the Settlers* (Winnipeg, 1887); Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement* (London, 1856); Mrs. Ann Adams, "Early Days at Red River Settlement and Fort Snelling: Reminiscences, 1821–1829," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 6:75–93.

Swan Lake could be seen.[12] There he spent the night, revolving in his mind whether to trust himself to the Indians and be killed probably, or go on and die of starvation. He chose the former alternative, and in the morning staggered towards the Dakota camp, thinking that he could but die, and that possibly they might save him alive. When he was first discovered from the encampment, some of the young men and boys were sent out to see what it was. But Bennett was afraid of them, and hid in the grass. He was reduced to a mere shadow, so much so that the Indians called him *Wanage,* or ghost.

Sleepy Eyes himself then came to meet him, and when Bennett saw his open, honest, good-natured countenance, he staggered towards him, threw his arms around his neck, and kissed him. And he was not disappointed. The old chief took the starved, emaciated, ghost-like Bennett to his tent and took care of him. He put new moccasins on his way-worn feet. His daughter, then the wife of Joseph Lafromboin,[13] deceased, made bread of flour which the old man had obtained at the mission the day before. "That was the best bread I ever ate," said Bennett. But Sleepy Eyes did more. He sent a special messenger to the Traverse to have us come for "the ghost." We took him home,

[12] The reference apparently is to the first Red River trail, which led up the Minnesota River to Traverse des Sioux, thence across country south of Swan Lake to the mouth of the Cottonwood River and up the Minnesota to Lac qui Parle. From there the route struck northwest to Lake Traverse and thence northward. William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River in* 1823 *under the Command of Stephen H. Long,* 1:1, map (London, 1825); John Pope, *Report of an Exploration of the Territory of Minnesota,* 9 (31 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents,* no. 42—serial 558).

[13] Probably Joseph Laframboise, who at various times from 1822 on was licensed to trade with the Indians in different places in southwestern Minnesota. About 1837 he was placed in charge of the American Fur Company's post at Little Rock, a short distance southeast of Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River. His first wife was the daughter of Walking Day; his second and third wives were daughters of Sleepy Eyes. In 1845 he married Jane Dickson, the daughter of William Dickson, a well-known fur-trader. Letters of Joseph Laframboise (translations) among the Sibley Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; George E. Warner and Charles M. Foote (eds.), *History of the Minnesota Valley,* 686 (Minneapolis, 1882); Newton H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota,* 583 (St. Paul, 1911).

and in three weeks he was so far recruited as to return to his friends in Missouri.[14] No wonder that Bennett should hate Indians, and yet he should love them too, for Sleepy Eyes treated him like a brother.

During the progress of the treaty of 1851 at Traverse des Sioux, Sleepy Eyes was so unfortunate as to incur the displeasure of the commissioners; and from that time onward the old man, whose mental and physical energies were fast failing, has been, I think, regarded with less consideration than he deserved. There was no intentional disrespect on the part of the old chief of Swan Lake. For a while it seemed as if all negotiations were broken off in consequence; but in the end it turned out to be the best thing that could have happened, as it brought about an arrangement sooner than under other circumstances could have been expected. Several councils had been held. Commissioners Ramsey and Lea had made their propositions to the Indians and were, at the time to which we refer, urging them in council to accept of it. The red chiefs were not ready to give an answer; they did not sufficiently understand the propositions of the white chiefs nor the views of each other. Accordingly they could say nothing. In the meantime, the young men, knowing that nothing would be done in the council, had gotten up a ball play on the open prairie above the council booth about where the new Presbyterian Church now stands.[15] A council, in which the talking was now all on one side, had become uninteresting to the Dakotas. Suddenly Sleepy Eyes arose and said to his brother chiefs, "We will adjourn to see the ball play"; and the adjournment immediately followed. This was regarded as such an insult by the commissioners that they could hardly contain themselves. Governor Ramsey immediately gave notice that the daily provision rations would be stopped; and orders were given (perhaps it was only intended

[14] It is interesting to compare this narrative with the account given by Mrs. Riggs in a letter which she wrote to a member of her family, October 10, 1844, a few weeks after the events took place, and which is to be found in Riggs, *Mary and I*, 91.

[15] This church, erected during the pastorate of the Reverend Moses N. Adams (1853–60), was standing in 1916, when it was being used as a slaughter house. Gresham, *Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties*, 1:187.

for effect) to get ready their boat for embarkation: By this flare-up both parties were in the end brought nearer together. The white chiefs were prevailed upon to raise the amount of the promised money annuity, ten thousand dollars, and the red chiefs were brought to moderate their demands. The next day Sleepy Eyes was required to make an apology, which he did by saying very good-naturedly that he meant no disrespect, and he was surprised that it should have been so regarded.[16]

About thirty-three or thirty-four years ago Sleepy Eyes visited the national capital. It was after the last war with Great Britain. Peace had been declared. New relations were to be entered into with the Indian tribes. Chatanwakoowamanee, the first Little Crow, and grandfather of the present Dakota chief known by that name, expected to be recognized as the head chief of the Dakotas, but Wapasha succeeded in obtaining the precedence.[17] Little Crow the I took Sleepy Eyes with him to Washington. They were accompanied by William Dixon as

[16] William G. Le Duc gives the following account of this incident, which occurred on July 19, 1851: "Eshtahenba, or Sleepy Eyes, an old chief of the Sissetons, Traverse des Sioux band, addressed the commissioners: *'Fathers:* Your coming and asking me for my country makes me sad; and your saying I am not able to do anything with my country makes me still more sad. Those who are coming behind are my near relatives, and I expected certainly to see them here. That is all I have to say. I am going to leave, and that is the reason I spoke.' (Turning to the other Sissetons, he said, 'Come let us go.') Here the chief arose, with the other Sissetons, and in confusion left the council, amidst loud cries from their young men on the outskirts." Prompt action by the commissioners in cutting off the food supplies which had been issued to the Indians brought them to a realization of their position, and requests were made for a further council. Accordingly, at noon on July 21 the body reassembled, and Sleepy Eyes made an apology, saying, "On the day before yesterday when we conversed together, you were offended, I hear, at what was said. No offense or disrespect was intended. We only wanted more time to consider. The young men who made a noise were waiting to have a ball play, and thinking the council over, arose, and as they did so, made the disturbance which we were sorry for." Governor Ramsey accepted the explanation, and negotiations were continued. *Minnesota Year Book,* 1852, p. 58.

[17] Petit Corbeau, or Little Crow, the grandfather of the leader of the Sioux outbreak, signed the treaty made by Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike in 1805. He was one of a line of hereditary chiefs of the Kapozha band

interpreter, who was called by the Dakotas Makoosha (Red Breast).[18] The then young Sisseton brave of Swan Lake was not a chief. He had his grandfather's name; but his father and grandfather had not ranked higher than soldiers under Wakanto (Blue Spirit), the father of the present Wakayyaska (White Lodge).[19] Sleepy Eyes was made a chief at Washington and brought back his commission from the war department. Many

of Sioux living some fifteen miles below the mouth of the Minnesota River, on the east bank of the Mississippi. He died about 1836. His Indian name is spelled in various ways by different writers. Elliot Coues, in his edition of Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions,* 1:85, n. 1 (New York, 1895); Sibley, "Reminiscences of the Early Days of Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:251–253.

The second Wapasha succeeded his father as an hereditary chief of the Mdewakanton Sioux. He met Lieutenant Pike in April, 1806, at Prairie du Chien. Like most of the chiefs of the Northwest, he was an ally of the British during the War of 1812, but he soon accepted the Peace of Ghent and was highly respected by the whites as well as by the Indians. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:911; Charles C. Willson, "The Successive Chiefs Named Wabasha," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:508.

[18] William Dickson was the son of Robert Dickson, an English fur-trader, and of a Sioux woman. Although he assisted his father in promoting British interests among the Indians during the War of 1812, he continued to trade in the United States after the peace, and acted as an interpreter for the party of Indians that Major Taliaferro escorted to Washington in 1824. In 1836 Dickson tried to organize an Indian and half-breed revolt in the Red River settlement for the purpose of setting himself up as the head of an independent state. *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 10:141, n. 2; Neill, *History of Minnesota,* 452 (Minneapolis, 1882), and "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2:109; Manuscript Journal of Lawrence Taliaferro, June 29, 1823 (in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society).

[19] Pike says that the Sisseton Sioux along the St. Peter's were subdivided into two groups, the second of which, the "Sussitongs proper, are headed by Wacantoe or Esprit Blue (Blue Spirit)." *Expeditions,* 1:343 (Coues ed.).

White Lodge was the chief of a band of Sisseton Sioux near Lake Shaokatan in Lincoln County. During the massacre of 1862 he led a party against the settlements at Lake Shetek and carried off a number of women and children. These were later rescued by the "Fool Soldier" band of Teton Sioux near the Missouri River. White Lodge died in Canada about 1870. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:945.

years afterwards, when the parchment conferring on him chiefly honors had become soiled and worn by age, I assisted the old man in getting it renewed at headquarters.

Sleepy Eyes has no son to inherit his place and power. His only son died many years ago, partly in consequence of a wound which he received in war with the Potawatomis.

The subject of this memoir is possessed of a large, muscular frame. When young he must have been quite a good-looking Dakota. His eyes are small, and usually—since we have known him, at least—only about half open. Hence, there was a propriety and point in his name. Although always kind and friendly to missionaries, as well as other white people, Sleepy Eyes was firmly attached to the religion of his fathers. A broken or deformed leg, a pain in the back, or some other bodily indisposition or sickness, was sin, according to his theology. And these were the consequences of breaking some of the laws, not of physical life, but of the world of spirits, which are represented by various classes of animal existence. In words he acknowledged that we were right, that we had the word of the Great Spirit; but he had grown up in the dark, and it was now too late for him to come to the light.[20] He appreciated the temporal benefits which have attended missionary efforts, and spoke very highly of Mr. Hopkins' self-denying labors among them.[21] No member of our mission placed more value upon efforts to assist the Indians temporally, as a means of opening

[20] For other accounts of Sioux religious beliefs, see James W. Lynd, "The Religion of the Dakotas," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2:150–174; Gideon H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions" and "Dakota Gods," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2:215–255; and "Religion," in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:365–370. The last reference deals with the whole subject of Indian religion.

[21] The Reverend Robert Hopkins was born in Ohio in 1816. He was educated at South Hanover College, Indiana, came to Minnesota for mission work in 1843, and was ordained by the Dakota Presbytery in 1848. Mr. Hopkins was stationed at Lac qui Parle during his first year while Mr. Riggs established a new post at Traverse des Sioux, and then came down to the latter point. When the older missionary was transferred back to Lac qui Parle, Hopkins remained in charge at Traverse des Sioux and he served there until his death by drowning on July 4, 1851. Riggs, *Mary and I,* 75–77, 90, 115; Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 343 (*M. H. C.* vol. 14).

their minds to the light of God's truth, than Mr. Hopkins; and no one was "in labors more abundant" of that character. Well may Sleepy Eyes and Red Iron[22] hold him in remembrance.

Persons who have been engaged in the fur trade speak of a man as a "good Indian" in proportion as he has taken many furs and paid his credits well. Whether or not Sleepy Eyes was a good Indian in this sense of the word I can not say, but I can say that we have found very few whose uniform intercourse with us has been more pleasant. He was "the chief among them."

HAZELWOOD,[23] MINNESOTA, January 8, 1858

[22] Red Iron, or Mazahsha, was a chief of the Sisseton band of Sioux, living near the mouth of the Lac qui Parle River. He signed the treaties of Traverse des Sioux, July 23, 1851, and Washington, June 19, 1858. For opposing the payment of the extreme claims of the traders at the first distribution of the annuities at Traverse des Sioux in 1852, he was arrested by Governor Ramsey and held under guard for several days. Remaining friendly in the Sioux war of 1862, he prevented Little Crow from taking his captives west with him after the defeat at Wood Lake. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 2:360; Gabriel Renville, "A Sioux Narrative of the Outbreak in 1862, and of Sibley's Expedition in 1863," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:604 (part 2).

[23] The Hazelwood mission and republic was situated a short distance north of the Yellow Medicine River, near the Minnesota. Riggs says of the mission: "The Yellow Medicine had been made the head quarters of the Indian Agency for the four thousand upper Indians. . . . The idea was to commence a settlement of the civilized and Christianized Dakotas, at some point within convenient distance from the Agency to receive the help which the government had by treaty pledged itself to give." The republic was composed of a number of young Dakota who had adopted the customs of white men. "They elected their President for two years, and other needed officers, and were without any difficulty recognized by the agent as a separate band. A number of these men were half breeds, who were, by the organic law of Minnesota, citizens." A boarding school, also, was opened in connection with the mission but with indifferent success. The mission buildings were destroyed in the Indian war of 1862 and were never rebuilt, as the Indians were soon moved westward. Riggs, *Mary and I*, 130, 133, and "Protestant Missions in the Northwest," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 6:172.

Grey Leaf[24]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* February 3, 1858]

Of the great men who, a dozen years ago, lived and hunted in Nicollet, Blue Earth, and Le Sueur counties, there was a remarkable trio, of which Sleepy Eyes was the first. The other two were Grey Leaf and Black Eagle. They were all Dakota men above the ordinary stature. Of the three, Grey Leaf, or Apahota, was the tallest and slenderest. He was probably fully six feet in height. His face was long and thin, his nose aquiline, his eyes rather large and expressive, his mouth small and well formed, and his whole appearance indicating more than ordinary intellect for a Dakota. His wife's name was Hoontka, or Cormorant, the sister of Sleepy Eyes.

Grey Leaf was not a Sisseton but a Wahpekute,[25] but because he was the king's[26] brother-in-law, he became his chief soldier. When we first became acquainted with him he was an old man, complaining very much of rheumatism. Many a bottle of Opodeldoc and British Oil did he use up for me. They were always sovereign remedies, and had done wonders for his lame knees, but still he needed more. Notwithstanding his age and infirmities, the old man was still energetic, the old woman was industrious and saving, and their sons were good hunters, so that they were usually quite well off for Indians who planted so little.

These great men all loved strong drink; and in those days there was abundance of it in the country. By day and by night

[24] No additional material was found on this man.

[25] The Wahpekute (Shooters in the Leaves) was one of the smallest of the Sioux bands. According to Major Long it had roving habits, and hunted near the headwaters of the Cannon and Blue Earth rivers. Sibley says that in 1834 it lived in villages not far from the present site of Faribault, and at a few other points. A band led by Black Eagle gradually separated from the main body, migrated to South Dakota, and later, under Inkpaduta, was responsible for the Spirit Lake massacre. Sibley, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:250; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:890; Pike, *Expeditions,* 1:344, 349 (Coues ed.); Keating, *Long's Expedition,* 1:403. See also *post,* footnote 31.

[26] That is, Sleepy Eyes.

we were annoyed by drunken men, and sometimes our lives were endangered. They made frequent visits to St. Paul, which then enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being a village of grog shops alone, both by land and river, and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the military at Fort Snelling, which by the way was rather spasmodic, they brought up kegs of "spirit water." Sometimes they spreed so hard by the way as to drink up or lose their whole stock before reaching home.[27] And hardly any one had less control over himself in this respect than Grey Leaf.

In the spring of 1846 I started with my family from the Traverse down the Minnesota in a large canoe. Mr. N. Brown,[28] who had been trading there during the winter, was a passenger with us. Somewhere, as we passed down through the Big Woods, I do not remember just the place, it may have been near where the town of Henderson now stands, we were hailed from the shore, and ordered to land, for they wanted bread. We perceived that they were drunk, and accordingly kept near the opposite shore. It turned out to be Grey Leaf and his wife and a servant boy called Posheensheen. The old man was lying in the canoe dead drunk. Hoontka and the boy were in a more active state. When they perceived that we were not intending to land for their benefit, Posheensheen pulled a gun out of the forward end of the canoe and, running down the shore a short distance, fired at us. Fortunately, the shots were received chiefly by the side of our canoe, only one of them taking effect in myself and inflicting a small flesh wound.

The affair itself might have been quite a serious one. The sequel was somewhat amusing. We had gone down as far as Red Wing in our peroque, and spent the Sabbath with mission-

[27] A description of St. Paul as it was in 1847, written by Dr. Williamson, is in Neill, *Minnesota*, 481, n. 2. The fondness of the Indians for strong drink and its disastrous effect upon them are dwelt upon by the Reverend Gideon H. Pond in an article published in the *Dakota Friend* of September, 1851, and reprinted in J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of St. Paul*, 83 (*M. H. C.* vol. 4).

[28] This trader is identified by Mr. Samuel J. Brown of Browns Valley as Nathaniel R. Brown, who came west in 1841 to assist his brother, Joseph R. Brown, in the fur trade.

ary friends,[29] endeavoring also to preach the gospel to the natives. We had taken a steamboat and visited Galena. We had spent a week in coming up from Mendota in an open batteau, and were at home again. We had not of late thought much of Posheensheen's treatment of us, when we were taken by surprise one day by the arrival of quite a company from Swan Lake. Sleepy Eyes and Grey Leaf, with their families and a number of others, had brought Posheensheen to be punished they said. The boy was conducted into our cabin with all due ceremony, and we had the usual amount of set speeches, Grey Leaf towards the close saying that he had been whipping him almost all the time since, and he thought the fellow was sufficiently punished. Relieved by this decision of the great man, I satisfied myself with a plain talk to the boy and the rest of the company. To this they all said, "Ho," with their loudest voice, and then expressed the opinion that, as the boy had been whipped and lectured so well, I ought now to give him some flour and pork. This would have been in accordance with Dakota custom, and no doubt it was the real object of their visit, but it did not then agree with our notions of justice. Hoontka expressed her sorrow that Posheensheen had acted so foolishly, for, said she, "in consequence of that, we upset our canoe, and lost all our spirit water."

This Posheensheen (the Sniveller) was himself quite a character. He was thrown away when a baby by his own mother, and taken up and raised by Grey Leaf's daughter, whose husband's name was Cloud Blanket. Cloud Blanket had a son not far from the same age of Posheensheen. These two sustained very much the relation of master and slave. If Chaskay's moccasins needed tying, Posheensheen tied them. If Chaskay's hands were sticky from eating sugar, Posheensheen licked them. He had a low forehead and an evil eye, and a head of hair that looked like a brush heap. I have not seen him for more than ten years, but I understand that he is still living.

In the winter of 1854–55 these Indians were encamped in the

[29] Red Wing was the station of Mr. Dentan, a Swiss missionary, and the Riggses visited them for a time. The story of the shooting by the drunken Indians on the trip down the river is also given by Riggs in his *Mary and I*, 97.

Big Woods below Le Sueur, when the smallpox appeared among them. Grey Leaf with his two sons and daughter, Cloud Blanket and his children, besides others of the connection, all died. Hoontka and Posheensheen lived through.

Grey Leaf was not a troublesome neighbor. He often came to our house, and always had a speech to make, but he did not beg nor scold much. On one occasion I recollect his making quite a long speech, in which he seemed to be speaking more harshly and unkindly than I had often heard him. During the progress of his speech something of a cloud had been gathering over me, but at the close he dissipated it entirely by saying, "You think I mean something; I don't mean anything."

Whatever may have been the facts in regard to "medicine men" among the Dakotas in former days, of late years the science and the art of conjuring have been confined to no class. The men, with but few exceptions, and perhaps one fourth of the women, have at some time tried their skill in exorcising the evil spirits, which are the universal causes of diseases which they do not understand. Grey Leaf was not only a firm believer in the virtue of conjuring, but quite a professor and practitioner in the art. On one occasion I went to see a sick girl. The blanket was over her face, and Grey Leaf was rattling his gourd shell and singing lustily. He said he was teaching her the last song that she might sing it as she traveled along the iron road of spirits. I removed the covering from her face, and lo! she was dead. Then commenced the long, loud, and bitter wailing.[30]

It will be understood from what has been already said that Grey Leaf was not disposed to change his religion. He would listen respectfully, but he always objected that he was unable. Like another Dakota man, who, after hearing and learning much of the religion of the Bible, said, "It is not possible to forsake the customs of our fathers"; and like an old woman who once told me that she wanted to live in the Bad Spirits' house because all her relatives had gone there, so Grey Leaf was satisfied to live as he had been taught and to die as his fathers died.

[30] For accounts of Sioux ideas of medicine, see Williamson, "Dakota Medicine," in Riggs, *The Gospel among the Dakotas,* 435–450 (Boston, 1869); and Neill, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:271–275.

Grey Leaf's Koda

Black Eagle,[31] or Wanmdesapa, was known to us rather as the koda, or particular friend of Grey Leaf than by much personal acquaintance; and generally, when he came in contact with us, it was under such circumstances as to leave not the most pleasant impressions. He also was of the Wahpekute clan, or band of Leaf Shooters, and chief soldier of Tasagya, and, I have recently learned, was some connection of Inkpadoota, of Spirit Lake notoriety. Black Eagle planted less than Sleepy Eyes and Grey Leaf, and was consequently less about the Traverse in those days. He and his connections hunted on the Blue Earth and its branches and down to the Iowa line. I visited him once while he was sick; I think it was the summer of 1846. They were then encamped some two miles above where St. Peter now stands. Soon after this, at the summer residence of Big Walker,[32] he died.

There was something more stern and less genial in the character of Black Eagle than in that of the other two members of this trio. My recollection of his visits to our house is that, with one exception, they were always for the purpose of begging. As a beggar he was exacting and importunate. Begging, in those days, was worse than annoying—it was vexatious. On our first arrival at the Traverse in June, 1843, with the intention of making it our home, I gave the Indians who were there and in a destitute condition a barrel of flour and some meat. They soon obtained more from me by begging. Not content with this,

[31] The Wahpekute subtribe of Sioux had two principal chiefs, Tasagi and Wamdisapa (Black Eagle), the latter being the real war leader. The former was murdered about 1839 by members of his own band, perhaps by Inkpaduta, and Black Eagle succeeded to the chieftainship. A quarrel occurred within the tribe over the continuance of the war with the Sacs and Foxes, and gradually the lawless fighting element headed by Black Eagle broke away from the rest of the tribe. When he died, or was murdered, Inkpaduta became chief of the outlaws, and this band was responsible for the Spirit Lake massacre. Charles E. Flandrau, "The Ink-pa-du-ta Massacre of 1857," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:387; Return I. Holcombe, in *Minnesota in Three Centuries,* 3:219 (New York, 1908); Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:902; Thomas Teakle, *The Spirit Lake Massacre,* 63–71 (Iowa City, 1918).

[32] See *post,* 502–505.

when they failed to get by asking, they took without leave. All the animals we possessed at that time consisted of a yoke of oxen. These were both killed and eaten within ten days, partly, if not chiefly, through the influence of Black Eagle. He denied, of course, having had any hand in it, and so did all the principal men. But such things are not usually done in a corner.[33]

There is, however, one rather pleasant remembrance which we have of Black Eagle. That first summer at the Traverse was the time of our great sorrow. Thomas L. Longley, a brother of Mrs. Riggs's, was a young man of promise. He had come out from Massachusetts to spend a couple of years with us, and assist in erecting the necessary buildings at a new station. We had been at the Traverse about five weeks and had a rough log cabin nearly ready to occupy. Saturday, about noon, the fifteenth day of July, he went in to bathe near the present steamboat landing, and was drowned. I need not tell how this event came upon us like an avalanche; how we gathered up his clothes and searched for his body; how our neighbors, Mr. Le Blanc, alias Provençalle,[34] and some of the Dakotas, searched also; how, as Saturday evening's sun went down upon us, and *one was not*, our hearts sank within us as lead in the mighty waters; how the Sabbath day, emblem of the resurrection, raised up our loved one from his watery house; how we took him up and, without coffin or shroud, in the twilight of the Sabbath, laid him to rest among the oaks, and we called the place *Allon Bachuth;* and how, finally, all summer long the waters of that river made us shudder when we looked upon them. But in the midst of

[33] See Mrs. Riggs's account of the killing of the oxen in a letter quoted in Riggs, *Mary and I*, 86.

[34] Louis Provençalle came to the upper Mississippi region before 1800. He was one of the French *voyageurs* who volunteered their services at Mackinaw on June 21, 1814, for an expedition to Prairie du Chien against the Americans. Later he established a trading post at Traverse des Sioux, which he conducted for thirty or forty years. Although Provençalle was a Roman Catholic, a warm friendship developed between him and Riggs, and he and his family were often attendants at the mission services. He died at Mendota in 1850. Sibley, "Reminiscences, Historical and Personal," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1:466; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 9:262, 263; S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12:335; Riggs, *Mary and I*, 27, 90.

our grief and when we were nursing our silent sorrow, Black Eagle volunteered his sympathy and counsel. The geese and ducks, he said, when a companion was shot away from their side, went on their way solitarily, perhaps, but not silently. Every living thing that had a voice cried out when hurt. The Dakotas were children of nature and when a friend died, they wailed out their sorrow, but we kept it in. It were better to cry it out. There was truth in the old man's language; but we are creatures of habit, and not bars nor bolts of iron are so strong as habits.[35]

Tankamane, or Big Walker[36]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* February 10, 1858]

The subject of this memoir was a Sisseton, a chief soldier of the band or clan now known among white people as Red Iron's. He was for many years the principal man of the little planting village at the foot of the hill beyond the river, about opposite the town of Traverse des Sioux. Big Walker was rather short, but thick and heavy set, with more muscle than is common in Dakota men. Once, when Mrs. Riggs saw him coming to our house in a state of intoxication, she turned the button over the doorlatch; but he had no sooner placed his thumb upon the handle than the button split as if it had been a thing of nothing.[37] He loved the excitement of getting drunk; and although he would acknowledge the many evils resulting from such a course, he could not resist the temptation. It made him feel good. Poor man! About ten years ago, he died, as a fool dieth, in a fit of drunkenness.[38]

On looking back to those years spent at Traverse des Sioux, it seems as if drunkenness was the rule and soberness the ex-

[35] See the account of the accident in Riggs, *Mary and I,* 80–85, which includes a letter of Mrs. Riggs to her parents.

[36] According to S. W. Pond, Tankamane, or Big Walker, was headman of the Sisseton village at Traverse des Sioux in 1834 under the chieftainship of Sleepy Eyes. *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:322.

[37] Mrs. Riggs describes this incident in a letter dated October 10, 1844, quoted in Riggs, *Mary and I,* 93.

[38] In a report to Indian Agent Bruce, dated August 12, 1846, Riggs mentions the death of Big Walker as having occurred that spring. 29 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents,* no. 4, p. 314 (serial 497).

ception. Distinctly do I remember, as if it were yesterday, starting down the river with Big Walker, when greatly intoxicated. In those days no steamboat had as yet tried the waters of the Minnesota. Everything was brought up in Mackinaw, or keel boats.[39] We had at that time a small one which belonged to the mission, carrying about six tons. It was in the early spring, and the river was quite full. There was then no white man in that part of the country whose assistance I could obtain in taking down the boat. But Big Walker was willing to help me. Accordingly, one day we made our arrangements to start the following morning. But that night some one brought spirit water to the camp, and Tankamane became drunk. Nevertheless, he remembered his engagement and came early in the morning. He sat down on the floor and was soon asleep. I ate my breakfast, got everything ready, then waked him up, and we started. He was still too much under the influence of spirit water to be of much service, and as we passed along down, he called to every one on shore to tell them that he was drunk.

We were making rather too much of an experiment in boating. The current bore us down rapidly; but I soon ascertained, what was to me then a new lesson, that but little could be done with the steering oar unless the side oars were plied also. Before I had learned what to do under the circumstances, the current carried us under a log which extended over the water, and took away our steering oar, pin and all. From this time I took a side oar, and as Big Walker became sober, he proved to be a valuable assistant. We prosecuted our journey without further accident, except that on our return, when we took to the use of poles, Big Walker missed his step on one occasion and went off into the river, to the no small amusement of the other hands; and when he had clambered on board again, he enjoyed the laugh as much as any one.

In Tankamane's speeches a favorite expression was, "Waksapa shene eshta (although I am not wise)"; and yet seldom have I

[39] The Mackinaw boat, so called because it was developed in the course of the fur-trading operations which centered at Mackinac, is described by Mrs. Riggs as a "large boat of forty feet in length, and perhaps eight in width in the middle, capable of carrying five tons, and manned by five men, four at the oars and a steersman at the stern." Riggs, *Mary and I*, 25. In going up a shallow river, poles were used in place of oars.

heard a Dakota man whose speeches were more luminous than his. A great many of those who pretend to be speakers use a great deal of verbiage. I have heard many speeches in Dakota as well as some in English from which it seemed impossible to get one single clear idea. There is a great deal of talking without sense. But, on the other hand, there are among the Dakotas many clear thinkers, who, like the wonderful ex-governor,[40] say what they mean, and mean what they say. Big Walker, I think, belonged to that class.

The first month was coming to a close when Sleepy Eyes came in from Swan Lake one afternoon and placed his horse at our haystack. The old man had himself gone to smoke his pipe and spend the evening with the trader, Mr. Provençalle. The night had come on, and a candle shone in our cozy little cabin. We heard the footsteps of several persons as they passed our door going towards the stable; and there seemed to be a haste and earnestness in their tread that augured some evil errand. I stepped out to see what was going on and found there three persons, one of whom was Hakadan, a nephew of Sleepy Eyes, and also a relative of Big Walker. Hakadan had in his hands several arrows and a bow and was in the act of shooting his uncle's horse. He said he had shot the horse once and would do it again. I asked why. He replied that Sleepy Eyes should have given him the horse, but did not; therefore he would kill it. I begged him to stop. I remonstrated with him and tried to show him the wickedness of such conduct. But argument and remonstrance were of little avail with a partly drunken man. Finally, however, they left; but as they passed by our door, where I was stopping on the porch, Hakadan turned around and shot an arrow at me, which providentially whizzed past and did no harm.

Some two or three weeks after this time letters came to us from Fort Snelling saying that Hakadan was there in the guardhouse and would be taken down to Dubuque. He had gone to St. Paul for whiskey, and the report of his misdemeanor had gone before him. He was accordingly watched for and taken by the soldiers. The letters contained also an intimation that he

[40] Probably Alexander Ramsey, who was governor of the territory from 1849 to 1853.

might be released if I should go down and request it. The next day Big Walker and I were en route for Fort Snelling. We succeeded in having Hakadan set at liberty. He made very fair promises to the Indian agent and the commanding officer, and, so far as I know, he was a wiser and a better man for that lesson. "I would not return in company with that man for the world," said one of the ladies at the fort. Ah! but I would. Hakadan would not likely do me any harm. That night we slept out in a small grove beyond Belle Plaine. Big Walker talked long and earnestly with him. The poor fellow was glad to be returned and in a few weeks expressed his gratitude in a substantial manner, by bringing us two large venison hams.[41]

Tankamane was our special friend. He was rather favorably disposed to education among his own people, and more frequently than any one else he attended our meetings on the Sabbath. Nevertheless, he was firmly attached to the superstitions of his fathers. No one was more active on the occasion of a Sacred Dance than Big Walker.

The Sacred Dance

Among the Dakotas a most remarkable society exists which is called *Wakan wachepe*, or Sacred Dance, of which the medicine sack is the badge. It may be regarded as the depository and guardian of whatever they esteem as *wakan*, or sacred. The Sacred Feasts belong to it, but are of less importance than the dance. The latter is made only occasionally; the former, frequently. None participate in the dance but those who are members of the society. The feasts are not so exclusive; others are often called, but are expected to conform to the rules of the feast. At the dance new members are received and initiated into the mysteries. It is thus at once the exhibition of the spirit of the association and the renewal of the covenant among its members.

Their badge, or medicine sack, is presented to new members at the time of their reception. This is sometimes an otter skin, sometimes a mink, and sometimes a fisher, or other skin. The secret power resides not in the skin naturally but after its consecration. It holds their medicine. It contains also the claws,

[41] See also Riggs's account of this affair in his *Mary and I*, 87.

or nails, the beads and the little shells with which they shoot each other. Their power to kill and make alive again resides in this. According to their pretensions the man or woman who enters the society must enter through death. Unseen this shell or claw must pass from the medicine sack of the operator and, entering into the person, kill him; and then the same *wakan* must bring to life again.

A large skin lodge is usually occupied as the center of operations, the door of which is made wide by throwing up the corners. From this, on each hand, extends a kind of railing, some thirty or forty feet, on which skins are thrown. The entrance is at the farther end. All around the inside of their sanctum sanctorum and along the extended sides sit those who are called to the dance. Beyond this and near the place of entrance is a fire, with great kettles hanging over it, which are filled with dried buffalo meat or other food; and near by lay several packs or bags of the same, which are consecrated to the feast. The whole village are gathered around and are looking over or peeping through the holes in the barricades. Both actors and spectators have on their very best garments. The dancers are painted all colors, and the women as well as the men sometimes wear feathers in their heads. Many years ago, when on one occasion I became a spectator of such a scene, they were all sitting smoking the pipe with the exception of one man and two women, who were passing round the circle, making their salaam, recognizing each one, as they passed, by some title of relationship, as father, mother, brother, sister, cousin, etc., and stretching out their hands toward each, saying, "Have mercy on me!" From each one they waited to receive an affirmative answer. This was the form and substance of their compact. Having passed around, they took their seats. Presently an old man within the lodge, who was master of ceremonies, commenced drumming and singing. Some young men who sat near him joined in the singing and shook their rattles lustily. Others arose and passed around, renewing their covenant by asking each one to have mercy on them. At this time three boys were to be introduced into their mysteries. These started up with their medicine sacks, which they held in their left hand, while the other was stretched out imploring mercy. Three times they ran around, stooping down

as they went and uttering unearthly sounds. As they sat down, each one said, "Koda goowetaya onshemada po (friends, all together, have mercy on me)!" Then all together they rise up and dance towards the holy place of their tabernacle, where they continue their singing, drumming, and dancing for some time, pell-mell, and then, closing with a general shout, they return and sit down in their places. This is repeated many times. In the interval some one makes a speech. When the last act of the drama comes on, the new members are put out in the center, having a place of some size painted on their breasts. They are to be shot there. The old men, who occupy the innermost part of the circle, pray to their gods and their medicine sack; and when they shoot, the neophytes fall down dead! They are then covered up with blankets; and there they lie dead, until those who killed them come and by their magic power restore them to life again. At first they say there is a frothing at the mouth; and then efforts are made to vomit, which result in their throwing up the shell or claw with which they were shot; then they live again.

Many years ago a young man, who has since learned to read and write his own language, was initiated into this society. His uncle, who had persuaded him to join, took great pains to have him well instructed in the *modus operandi*. He was, however, so foolish as to swallow the first shell. Another was furnished, with special instructions to keep it in his mouth and produce it at the time of his restoration to life. This advice he followed; but then he was so stupid as not to know when to die. Here his uncle come to his aid by giving him a push and telling him to fall down. He obeyed; but, boy as he then was, he learned that it was all a deception. And for having left them he has since been annoyed and threatened with the power of their enchantments.

They profess not only to be able to kill and bring to life again in the manner above described, but to have the power of actually causing death by their *wakan*. And so ignorant and superstitious are the Dakotas generally that the fear of this mysterious influence may, perhaps, in instances not a few, have produced disease and death. Some years ago a woman declared to me that she had, in this way, caused the death of a man who had stolen some articles of value from her. The days of witches are not entirely past.

The Sacred Dance is a secret society. They say it is a repository of mysteries which are not known to the uninitiated. But whether any useful knowledge is kept from the world by this secret institution is more than doubtful. Of what use to mankind, for instance, is the story of the two great snakes which reach round the earth. "There are two snakes which surround the earth, one male and the other female. One lies under the setting sun, and the other at the north. Their heads touch, and their tails touch each other." This is the story. One is not made much wiser by the revelation. But there are certain promises made to obedient and devoted followers. "If you keep your medicine bag, you shall have four staves, one after another, and a white or variegated crown. If you go on the road to the east, you will take hold of these staves successively, and you will live to be old. If you love to make Sacred Feasts, you will live to be gray-headed." These are some of their promises. Then the revealing of the mysteries is a terrible affair. "If you do not value these instructions and if you reveal these things, you will go into the earth when you die. But if you go into the earth, or if you go into the clouds, or if you go into a tree, or if you go into a stone, or wherever you go, the curse will follow you."

They say that when one of their number behaves badly his medicine sack is taken from him and he is no more one of them until it is restored. But for what crimes do they suspend or expel? Not for polygamy; they recommend seeking woman and having many wives. Not for licentiousness; they practice that and many of them glory in it. Not for drunkenness; a few years ago they made many of their Sacred Feasts with whiskey. Not for gluttony; they enforce that. One of the rules of their feast is that each one must eat up all that is given him or pay something to the maker of the feast. If food is dropped, it is sin (*woahtane*); it must be gathered up carefully. And if one eats so much that he vomits it up, he spews it into his own dish and then does as "the dog that is turned to his own vomit again." This is heathenism.[42]

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, January 20, 1858

[42] For other descriptions of the Sacred or Medicine Dance, see S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12:409–415; G. H. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2:222–228; and Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas*, 90–92.

Mahpeyasna, or Rattling Cloud[43]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* February 24, 1858]

The subject of this sketch was a brave or chief soldier under Running Walker,[44] then of Lac qui Parle. He belonged to the Wahpeton, or Leaf-village division of Dakotas. In an old manuscript, made nineteen years ago, I find the following notice of this man: "One morning, near the middle of October, the village at Lac qui Parle was thrown into a state of excitement by one of the principal men shooting himself. The evening before some of our Indians had arrived from Fort Snelling and brought us a fine package of letters and papers, which made our hearts very glad. They also brought up a keg of whiskey from Pig's Eye.[45] Mahpeyasna was fond of this stimulus, as Dakotas generally are. Together with a number of other men, Rattling Cloud sipped at the keg until all went merry as a marriage bell, and they had caused no small disturbance in the village. When the morning came, he went to his own tent and said he would clean out his gun and go duck-hunting. He took off the stock and, while blowing in the muzzle, removed the other end of the barrel around near to, or into, the fire, which was burning in the middle of the tent. It was immediately discharged, and the whole of the contents, passing through his mouth, tore off the back part of his head. He died instantly. Some said he did not know the gun was loaded. Others thought he meant to kill himself. Several weeks previous to this time he had, with others, danced for two days and two nights, without eating or drinking, they say, to the

[43] No additional information on this man has been found.

[44] According to S. W. Pond, Running Walker was possessed of extraordinary intelligence, but because he either could not or would not speak in public, he had little influence over his band and was chief in name only. *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12: 330.

[45] Pig's Eye, the forerunner of St. Paul, took its name from one Parrant, a French Canadian whiskey-seller, who established a shop on the river front about where the foot of Robert Street now is. He had only one good eye. "He had another, it is true, but such an eye! Blind, marble-hued, crooked, with a sinister white ring glaring around the pupil, giving a kind of piggish expression to his sodden, low features." The nickname "Pig's Eye" was applied to him, and a letter facetiously dated from "Pig's Eye" gave the name to the locality. Williams, *St. Paul,* 85.

sun. Since that time he has seemed to be in a melancholy mood. He was ambitious, and some things have recently taken place to disappoint his ambition. These things operating upon his mind, when the stimulus of ardent spirits was passing off, may have induced him to put an end to his existence. If this was not the case, his forgetting that his gun was loaded and his taking no measures to ascertain whether it was or not, must be attributed to the stupefying influences of spirit water."

Rattling Cloud was, according to my recollection, a man who would have measured about five feet nine, rather more than the average height of Dakota men, and otherwise well formed. The lower part of his face was rather short, his forehead low, his nose aquiline and long, his eyes expressive, his mouth large, his voice strong, and he usually spoke in a very loud key. He was very boastful of his good and great deeds. He had given away more horses in his day than all the Leaf-villagers then owned.

At the time of his death Mahpeyasna may have been between forty and forty-five years old. When quite a young man, he had visited St. Louis with Running Walker, the father of the present chief of that name. Not long after this he and his younger brother, who is still living, together with others, made a visit to Lord Selkirk's settlement on Red River. At this time they would have been attacked and cut off probably by the Ojibways if they had not been protected by the white people.

Among the Dakotas there are no more really brave men than there ought to be, albeit as a nation they are very boastful of their bravery. But Mahpeyasna deserved to be counted among the braves. The story of Mnahoodan, which several years ago appeared in the *Dakota Friend*,[46] will illustrate this.

Between twenty-five and thirty years ago, through the influence of Mr. Renville[47] of Lac qui Parle and others, the Da-

[46] The *Dakota Friend*, or *Dakota Tawaxitku Kin*, was a small monthly paper, issued at St. Paul under the auspices of the Dakota mission, from November, 1850, to August, 1852. The part written in the Dakota language was edited by G. H. Pond; the English part by E. D. Neill. An account of its inception appears in Samuel W. Pond Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas*, 205 (Boston and Chicago, 1893).

[47] Joseph Renville Sr., the son of a French trader by a Dakota mother, was born near the site of St. Paul about 1799. Because of his ability to speak the French and Dakota languages fluently, his services as inter-

kotas in this part of the Minnesota Valley had made peace with some of the bands of the Ojibways. It was the time for the fall hunt. Mr. Renville, in giving credits to the Indians, urged upon the principal men the duty of keeping the peace, and gave blankets to a few of the more energetic young men with special instructions to punish the first individual who violated it. In a few weeks the Wahpetons had encamped near a lake in the region of country once occupied by the Winnebagoes. The camp of Hole-in-the-Day,[48] father of the present chief bearing that name, was not far distant. The young men from each camp occasionally met in their hunting excursions. One evening an Ojibwa brave had accompanied some of the Dakota hunters home and was now in the Soldiers' Lodge.[49] Most of the hunters had already arrived at home and were eating of what they had brought in, when the camp was thrown into commotion by the shout of victory. A Dakota young man, whose name was Mnahoodan, or Black-haw Bush, had killed one of the Dwellers-at-the-Falls, as they call the Ojibways, and was coming home

preter were often in demand. He assisted Lieutenant Pike in his conferences with the Sioux in 1805, and was with Major Long's expedition of 1823. During the War of 1812 Renville held a commission in the British Indian department. The war ended, he engaged in the fur trade, first as an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and later as one of the organizers of the Columbia Fur Company, an American concern with headquarters at Lake Traverse. After 1827 he became an independent trader at Lac qui Parle. Friendly to the missionaries from the time of their coming to Minnesota, he rendered them valuable assistance in their work of translating the Bible into Dakota. He died in 1846. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 20: 165, n. 26. See also S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 333; Neill, "A Sketch of Joseph Renville," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1: 196–206; Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 634; and Riggs, *Mary and I*, 37–40, 44, 50.

[48] Hole-in-the-Day the Elder was born about 1800, and, although not an hereditary chief, he soon became an acknowledged leader of the Chippewa in war and in council. An inveterate enemy of the Sioux, he led his braves in constant forays against them. See Alfred Brunson, "Sketch of Hole-in-the-Day," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 5: 387–399, for an extended account of this well-known chief.

[49] The Soldiers' Lodge was a semimilitary organization of the men of the Indian village either for the buffalo hunt or for war. It appointed its own officers and issued regulations. For a fuller description of the institution, see *post*, 524.

across the lake, shouting. Before reaching the camp, he was met by Rattling Cloud, who demanded his gun that he might break it, saying he had come to "soldier kill" him.[50] Black-haw Bush refused to be punished in this way for what he considered a glorious deed, declaring that he would die before he would give up his gun. It was, however, wrested from him and broken. He then drew his knife and, running to the Soldiers' Lodge, commenced cutting it in defiance of the agreement to keep the peace which had thus been entered into.

As Mnahoodan had resisted the decrees of the council, it was become a question whether he should live or die. The next morning some young men were sent to escort the Ojibway who had spent the night there a short distance on his way home. He was requested to come back with others of the Ojibway braves in three days, when they would learn the result of this case. In the meantime in the Dakota camp they came to the determination to deliver up Mnahoodan to the Ojibways. The evening of the appointed day a company of men were seen coming across the lake. Before they reached the camp they first fired off their guns and were soon met and escorted home by the Dakotas. That night the proposition was made to the Ojibway braves that they should kill Mnahoodan. They refused, asserting that if they did so it would bring on renewed hostilities. The Dakotas assured them that that would not be the case, but they very wisely persisted in refusing. They were then told to come back to that place again after three days, when they would see the evidence that the Dakotas desired to live in peace with them.

The next evening a council of war was called, and they sat around in a circle and smoked the pipe in the Soldiers' Lodge; the exciting question, "Who will be the executioner?" went round once and again; but no one said, "Ho." At length, Mahpeyasna took his gun and, in the presence of them all, loaded it, declaring that if no one else was willing to execute the sentence, he would do it. An hour after this Mnahoodan was shot in his own tent by Mahpeyasna and, by the command of the old man, was the next morning placed upon a scaffold, as the manner of the Dakotas

[50] Riggs explains on page 524 of the text that soldier killing consists in cutting up the blanket or tent, breaking the gun, or killing the horse of an offender against rules laid down by the Soldiers' Lodge.

was to dispose of their dead. Sadness and gloom had now gathered over the camp, and, as soon as that ceremony was performed, the Dakotas struck their tents and removed towards home. And in a few weeks a war party was made up among the Ojibways as the only means of allaying the existing excited state of feeling which had been created among themselves.

Reference has been made to Mahpeyasna's dancing to the sun. It is not strange that the sun, the source of so many blessings, should be the object of adoration among ignorant and superstitious people. The Sun Dance is an act of worship. The time of full moon is selected so that the dancers can look at the moon when the sun is not visible. They see the Great Spirit in the sun and in the moon.[51] As Paul said of the Athenians when he passed by and saw their devotions, so might it be said of Mahpeyasna, he was "in all things very worshipful." He came of a worshipful stock. His father, Ptahotonpe, was a great medicine man and war prophet.[52] And yet the religion of Rattling Cloud was emphatically "of the earth, earthy." The mythology and the theology of the Dakotas alike point to a future and separate state of the soul's existence; albeit their views, as might be expected, are vague, unsatisfying, and materialistic. But Mahpeyasna was one of the few Dakota men of my acquaintance who profess to believe in no future state; that when he died, it would be like the ox dying; that would be all of him.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA TERRITORY, February 2, 1858

PTAHOTONPE, OR LOWING BUFFALO[53]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* March 3, 1858]

Twenty years ago at Lac qui Parle there lived an old bald-headed Dakota man whose name was Ptahotonpe. He was not tall, but had considerable breadth and weight. Almost our first introduction to him was as the high priest and prophet at a Social

[51] For a more detailed description of the Sun Dance, see Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 81, and George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians,* 1:232 (London, 1842).

[52] See the following sketch.

[53] No additional material was found on this Indian.

Dance. It was on a cold November day. The night previous had been spent by old Lowing Buffalo in what is best expressed by the phrase, making *wakan*. The rattling of the gourd shell, together with singing over the heated stones, was quite necessary to bring the old man into connection with the spirit world. The morning came. A space was cleared away in front of the tent where the ceremonies of the night had been performed. A long pole with the bark peeled off was set up in the center. Near the foot of this pole an excavation was made, over which willows were bent, making a very low booth open at both ends. At one entrance were placed two stones, one painted red and the other blue; and also the skull of a buffalo. A circle was then drawn around this booth at a distance from it of eight or ten feet; and this space was enclosed by a fence of willows, in which were left four places of entrance and exit. To complete the preparations the images of a wolf, a bear, and an eagle were made of bark and suspended from the top of the pole. Near the sacred stones was a fire of coals, on which cedar leaves, as incense, were occasionally thrown.

When the dance was to commence the old man came out of the tent with only a wisp of grass around his loins, drumming and singing as he came. Two boys, also almost in a state of nudity, but gaily painted, were his attendants. After paying his adoration to the painted stones and the buffalo head, Ptahotonpe entered the little booth in the center of the circle and there, crouching down partly in a sitting posture, he continued to sing and drum during the progress of the dance. This consisted of four acts, with a time for rest and smoking between; all alike except that the enthusiasm increased as they drew near the catastrophe. The dancers were mostly young men gaily painted and decorated with their war feathers. They passed around, with their bodies bent forward, in a kind of half step, which was sometimes quickened into a run. Dakota men dancing appear very much like the cannibals dancing in *Robinson Crusoe*. Outside of the men two or three women passed around in their own circle and answered to the chorus.

During one of the rests the old man asked for a pipe. One was filled and lighted at the coals, which were placed near the painted stones. The individual who performed this ceremony

first prayed to the painted stones, "Grandfather have mercy on me, grandfather have mercy on me"; and all the while, when engaged in lighting the pipe, he held out his hand towards the stones and the buffalo head in an imploring manner. There were great apparent fear and reverence. There was the manifestation of sincerity. But could such worship, ignorantly rendered to stones that can neither see nor hear nor help, be regarded with approbation by the Great Living Father? It should be remarked, however, that they disclaim worshiping the stones and the buffalo heads; they only worship the spirits that dwell in them.

At the close of the fourth act the old man of the booth delivered his oracle; and the whole was concluded by the simultaneous firing of a dozen or twenty guns at the carved bird and four-footed animals which hung from the top of the pole. After the smoke of the firing had passed away, I looked and, behold! they were not.

In my own childhood days, on the banks of the Belle River,[54] our neighbors' cows were sometimes bewitched and elfshot; and our neighbors, pretty intelligent people withal, shot the elves and witches on Sabbath morning with a silver bullet. And even now there are spirit mediums and circles. Those who can understand and sympathize with such manifestations of popular superstition as are now common in civilized society, can have some comprehension of the state of feeling which is the normal condition of the Dakota mind. With them there are gods many and lords many. There are elves and fairies and witches and wizards. There are spirits, good and bad, in the earth, in the water, in the trees, in the stones, and in all the various animals. And these spirits have much to do with men. As the immediate agents bringing disaster and disease they must often be propitiated, and often, too, their power must be broken. That painted stone by the wayside with swan's-down, tobacco, and arrows lying by it, has not been unobserved by the traveler. This gives us a clue to

[54] La Belle Rivière, or the Beautiful River, was a French name for the Ohio River. "Memoir on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi," dated 1718, in E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* 9:886 (Albany, 1855); Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan, *History of Ohio,* 1:222 (New York, 1912).

the meaning of the Circle Dance, which is very frequently made. As a popular amusement it has uses. But the reason of the thing lies down deeper. It is resorted to as a preventive of sickness and death. The spirit tells a man in a dream to make a Circle Dance or a Sacred Dance. Woe be to him if he is disobedient to the vision! Or he wants the help of the spirits against his enemies. He is told to make dance. In doing this he at once propitiates by his prayers and supplications, his songs, his powwows, and his sacrifices; and on the other [hand], he breaks the power of opposing spirits by shooting them.[55]

Perhaps a better illustration of this feeling is seen in the higher forms of conjuring. When disease will not yield to the common powwow—the singing and sucking, the rattling and drumming—it is the conjurer's business to divine *what* spirit has taken possession of his patient. If it be the spirit of a bear, or a wolf, or a goose, or a turtle, or whatever it may be, the image is made accordingly, and then, when the conjurer has gone through his powwow, the young men rise up and shoot the ill-fated animal. This repeated several times must, in all ordinary cases, break the spirit's power and restore the patient. If it fails, it does not argue any lack of power in the powwowing to restore to health; it only shows that the conjurer was mistaken, as any one might be, in regard to what spirit was the cause of the disease. Another conjurer perhaps is applied to, who, when well paid, for the Indian doctors must be paid beforehand, guesses that it is a bear and not a wolf. So the same prices [*proccss*] must be repeated. And when death comes after all is done, the inference is that the spirits are stronger than mortals. The living, too, have nothing to reproach themselves with. They have done all they could. How very much alike do men and women in all states of society feel! The Book saith, "As face answereth to face in water, so the heart of man to man."[56]

This was the last dance that Lowing Buffalo ever made. We stood there wrapped in our overcoats and cloaks and were glad,

[55] For another account of the Circle Dance by Riggs, see his *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 46.

[56] For a discussion of the position of the medicine man, see G. H. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2:238–255; and Williamson, "Dakota Medicine," in Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 435–450.

after a couple of hours, to make our escape to the warm fire. But the old man passed the day in a state of nudity, and it is not wonderful that he brought on himself a sickness which not all the pow-wows of the conjurers could prevent from terminating in death.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 10, 1858

MAHPEYA MAZA, OR IRON CLOUD[57]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* March 10, 1858]

A man who is living not the first time nor the second time in this world, who has passed through various states and stages of existence before, who has lived in other bodies, in other climes, and with different surroundings, must surely have quite an advantage over the herd of common mortals who live but one life on earth and after that come to judgment. Such a man was Iron Cloud, formerly the second chief of the Dakota village at Haminnechan, or the Wood-water-mountain, known now better as the flourishing town of Red Wing on the Mississippi River. Mahpeya Maza professed to believe in the doctrine of transmigration. He had himself been a white man and lived in the sunny south previous to his appearance as a Dakota baby in a skin tent in these northern regions. Now for the proof. Before he had, in his Dakota state, seen a white man, he knew all about white people; and before any *fire canoe* had ploughed the waters of the upper Mississippi, it was a thing known to him, for he had seen such in his former state of existence. It might be objected that, as evidence, this statement is not entirely satisfactory. Mahpeya Maza must have been born as a Dakota sometime in the last decade of the last century. And as a matter of history steamboats are things of a later day than that. As Iron Cloud was an adept in a certain kind of so-called spiritualism, it would have been perhaps quite as true if he had accorded his superior knowledge to the communication of spirits.

[57] Iron Cloud was a subchief of the Mdewakanton Sioux. He accompanied his superior, Wahkoota, to Washington in 1837 and signed the treaty which opened up the St. Croix Valley to settlement. He was also a signatory of the treaties of Mendota in 1836 and 1851 and Prairie du Chien in 1830. See *post,* 538, n. 80.

The dancing of bureaus and settees and the turning of tables in the circles of the East may find an illustration and perhaps a counterpart in certain manifestations which are said to take place sometimes in Dakota lodges. Iron Cloud was on one occasion conjuring a sick man. He wrapped the man up in buffalo robes and blankets, taking care to tie each blanket and each robe around his patient with strong leathern thongs. It was night. When all was ready, he commenced singing and rattling his gourd shell. This was continued until the spirit appeared. It came in the form of a raven. The tent poles were shaken, the fire was put out, the sick man was raised up by the supernatural power, and when laid down again all the thongs were unloosed, the buffalo robes and blankets taken off and he restored to health. In the doctor's little wooden bowl of water which stood there a needle was found, which, by the intervention of the spirit, had been extracted from the sick man, and so he was made whole of his plague. Mahpeya Maza acknowledged that this was a work of darkness and that this was the appearance of the bad spirit and not the good; but his faith in these wonderful things was firm.

Iron Cloud was a dreamer. Not any of your ordinary muddy dreamers, whose dreams amount to nothing and who can hardly remember after they awake what they dreamed about. His dreams were clairvoyant. The spirits brought before him the panorama. Things appeared to him, not perhaps as they at that moment were, but as they would be at a certain time in the future. On a time he dreamed a dream. In the visions of his head upon his buffalo robe he saw a hill on a lake. Passing around this hill he saw two Ojibways. They went to the lake, got into a canoe which lay by the shore, and passed over the water. The spirit said to him, "Smite them." He awoke and it was a dream. He dreamed a second time, and the same vision came before him again. Again the spirit said to him, "Smite them." When he awoke he was obedient to the vision. He organized a war party and went to the Ojibway country, found the hill and the lake, and saw the two men go into the canoe and pass to the other side. Now was his time to smite. They passed around the lake, but their men had disappeared. They hunted but found no tracks. They came home disappointed. The spirit had deceived him, and he would go to war no more.

In his belief that he could in this way tell beforehand where enemies would be found, Mahpeya Maza was not alone. There are Dakota men who, within the last twenty years, have learned to read and write their own language, who are even now very positive that in those days of their ignorance they possessed this power. By their incantations they could raise the "spirits of the vasty deep," which told them when and where they would find Ojibways. They know it was so, for they did it once and again. But this power of calling up the spirits has departed from them. They can not do it now. Such deeds of darkness are not compatible with even a little light of education. It was only the other night, at the Dakota lodges near the Yellow Medicine, a conjurer got into a communication with a spirit which told him that there were Ojibways near the camp. This was no sooner announced than the young men seized their guns and commenced firing at every tree and stump and bush that they might scare up the enemies who were creeping up to the encampment.

In regard to these things we may enjoy our own opinions. There is nothing new under the sun. That which is hath already been. There were witches and demoniacal possessions in olden times. We are surrounded by, and often in contact with, the spirit world; and it seems that one has the privilege of choosing his companions from that spirit world as well as in our more material abode. The spiritual manifestations of all ages have been more or less deceptive. But admitting all that is claimed by good and honest people, we may still ask, *"Cui bono?* What good comes from all this?" There is a more excellent way. The communion and fellowship of the true Christian with God and His Son Jesus Christ is a higher and holier state of existence on earth than any medium can enjoy. And the light and the knowledge communicated to us by God's revelation are not for a moment to be placed upon a level with the communications received from the spirit world through Plato and Newton and Swedenborg and, if you please, Iron Cloud.

But there is a deed of Iron Cloud which deserves to be remembered when his dreams and conjuries are forgotten. He was out with a war party hunting Ojibways. It was not "the hill and lake" expedition. At this time they entered a Frenchman's house in the Ojibway country. They could see no one, but, in searching

the house, they found the Frenchman's squaw under the feather bed. The warriors stood around ready to kill her. She sprang into Iron Cloud's arms. He protected her. "No one shall kill her," he said. He cut off her hair, but left her scalp, and his party returned home. The hair could be danced around as well as the scalp.

Two years ago Mahpeya Maza went to the world of spirits. And if his doctrine of transmigration were true, he might be expected to turn up elsewhere. But what a load of remembrances would the soul carry with it from its Dakota habitation! And one could not say that they would be all pleasant memories.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 16, 1858

ETAWAKINYAN, OR THUNDER FACE[58]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* March 17, 1858]

"I want the white chief to call and see me before I die." This was the message brought to Mr. Flandrau, the agent,[59] from Thunder Face by his son. He was then confined to his tent, which stood near Dr. Williamson's mission station.[60] A few days after this, in the latter part of May, 1857, the old man died. They placed his body upon a scaffold for a while, for they would not prevent the spirit's free access to its former tabernacle. Believing, as they do, that the spirit, the *nage* or shade of the departed, lingers around its old tenement, it is not surprising that the Dakotas should have preferred placing their dead on scaffolds to burying them in the ground. And this accounts, too, for their carrying food to the place where the departed one is laid.[61]

[58] S. W. Pond characterizes Thunder Face as a "bad leader of a bad band," and says that his French name, Diable Boiteux, was "suggested by his limping gait and fiendish disposition." *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:322, 330. Thunder Face was one of the chiefs who negotiated the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851.

[59] Judge Charles E. Flandrau was Indian agent with headquarters at the Yellow Medicine Agency from the fall of 1856 to October, 1857.

[60] Dr. Williamson's station, Payzhehooteze, was between Hazelwood and the Upper Sioux Agency on the Yellow Medicine River.

[61] For accounts of Dakota burial customs, see Winchell, *Aborigines of Minnesota,* 513–517; and S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:478–485.

Thunder Face was a Sisseton. When we first formed his acquaintance, he was the chief man of a clan whose headquarters were at what is called "the Two Woods," which name attaches to some lakes, formerly well wooded, about fifty miles west from Lac qui Parle, on that part of the Coteau des Prairies where the Big Sioux takes its rise.[62] There they planted corn more or less, but depended for a living chiefly on the buffalo which they found between their place and the James River. Thunder Face's clan usually went by the name of Tizaptanna, or Five Lodges, which indicated their number when they went off from their relations in the south bend of the Minnesota. They afterwards numbered twenty or thirty families. Etawakinyan had a younger brother whose name was Kenehanpe, or the Respected One. There seemed to be no love lost between these two brothers. Each one was jealous of the other. They often sought, by poisoning, or in some other way, to destroy each other. That they might accomplish this object they have been known to offer a horse for "bad medicine," as poison is properly called. Many years ago Kenehanpe died, and Etawakinyan was left in the undisputed possession of his authority. He had strengthened his power by obtaining for his son-in-law a brother of old Curly Head, the chief of Lac qui Parle; but it was not until the treaty of 1851 that he was recognized as a chief. At that time a number were made chiefs who had formerly only attained to the status of brave.

In his younger days Thunder Face was undoubtedly a man of more than ordinary energy. He used to boast that he had followed the buffalo on horseback, with his robe turned down and the upper part of his body naked, when it was so cold that his fingers stiffened around his bow and he was obliged to loose them with his other hand. I have seen his eldest son, who has now inherited his place and power, shoot an arrow into a buffalo bull which

[62] The Coteau des Prairies, as shown on Nicollet's map of 1843, is a high ridge which begins in northwestern Iowa and extends northwest for about a hundred and fifty miles through southern Minnesota into eastern South Dakota. In general, it forms the watershed between the streams of the Minnesota River system and those of the Big Sioux. Two Woods Lakes are in northeastern South Dakota, in the northeastern part of Deuel County. Joseph N. Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 237—serial 380).

turned on him. He fled, only to turn again to the attack, when his time came. I could imagine how the old man looked with his hair streaming in the wind and he urging on his pony and pouring his arrows into the sides of a big moose, as they call the buffalo.

But the chief of the Five Lodges was a hard case. In the first years of the Dakota mission he was often at Lac qui Parle. He frequently came and spent weeks and sometimes months, living off the Indians there, who were better supplied with corn than he and his people were. He begged much from the white people. He listened sometimes to the teachings of the Bible, but he preferred his own religion; he preferred to have his people remain uneducated; and in the latter part of his life, his opposition to education and the purifying religion of Jesus increased.

When we lived at Lac qui Parle, the old man came to our house one Sabbath morning with two bottles; one had held castor oil and the other seneca oil. They were nearly empty. He wished me to fill them. I said, "Not on the Sabbath, to-morrow I will do it." Not being in a very pleasant mood, he took it ill and, putting both the bottles down on the floor, he smashed them to pieces with his foot. The oil stain on our floor remained there for months. The next day he came back and wished me to furnish him two bottles as well as oil. After the scene of yesterday I refused to do that. He was very angry; but finally he went away and begged bottles elsewhere.

In September of 1840 I enjoyed rare opportunities for becoming acquainted with Thunder Face and his clan. Then, with Mr. A. G. Huggins I made a journey to Fort Pierre on the Missouri.[63]

[63] Riggs wrote an extended account of this trip, which, under the title, "Journal of a Tour from Lac qui Parle to the Missouri River," was published in the *Missionary Herald*, 37:179–186 (April, 1841). His fellow traveler, Alexander G. Huggins, was born in North Carolina in 1802. The family soon removed to Ohio, where he received his education. In 1835 he and his wife came to Minnesota with Dr. Williamson as assistant missionaries and took charge of the farming operations among the Indians at Lac qui Parle. In 1846 Mr. Huggins removed to Traverse des Sioux, and continued as mission farmer under Mr. Hopkins. On his release from the mission service, due to the removal of the Indians from this locality in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, he settled on a claim near St. Peter, and died there in 1866.

As Etawakinyan was engaged to furnish us with guides after we reached the Coteau des Prairies, we kept with the moving party for eight days. They were going to the plains to hunt buffalo. Horses, women, girls, dogs, all had to carry loads. In six days we made fifty miles and encamped at the planting grounds of the Tizaptanna; but they had raised no corn that year. From those lakes almost all the wood had been cut off; but at the other one of the Two Woods there was still quite a little grove of timber.

We soon ascertained that it was an object with Thunder Face and his people to throw all kinds of obstacles in our way, to keep us from going ahead of the party, if not to defeat our proposed journey entirely. They said the Dakotas on the Missouri were very savage; they would most likely kill us, but if they did not do that they would certainly steal our horses. But the chief argument was that we would scare away the buffalo. Finally, however, after submitting to annoying delays and exorbitant conditions, we succeeded in starting forward with two nephews of the old man from their camp near Kampeska Lake. That day we saw our first buffalo, and our young men, with others who had followed us from the camp, succeeded in killing two.

In prosecuting this journey we were very favorably impressed with the character of the soil throughout the whole breadth of the Coteau. This is a beautiful section of country, commencing up northwest from Lake Traverse, at its head rising above the surrounding prairie some seven hundred feet and gradually descending and widening as it extends towards the southeast, spreading out like a fan and opening itself to receive the Big Sioux River,

Riggs, A Tableau of the Families Connected with the A. B. C. F. M. in the Dakota Mission from 1835 to 1860 (manuscript in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, dated 1861). A brief sketch of Mr. Huggins, written by his son, General Eli Huggins, is also in the possession of the society.

Fort Pierre was built in 1832 by an agent of the American Fur Company on the west bank of the Missouri near the mouth of the Teton River, in the central part of South Dakota. It was purchased by the United States government in 1855 for use as a military post to protect the frontier. Its unsuitableness for this purpose was soon evident, however, and in 1857 it was abandoned. Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 1:208; Frederick T. Wilson, "Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1:263–311.

extending one arm down on either side of that stream, until finally both fade away in the common prairie level, sprinkled over with small lakes and presenting an undulating, not to say hilly, surface, the only seeming want being that of timber. In the very level valley of the James River, on either side some thirty miles wide, we observed short grass and an abundance of pear-shaped cactus, which argued a much poorer soil than that of the Coteau.

The winter of 1846-47, and the one succeeding, buffalo were, for the first time for many years, abundant about Lac qui Parle. In the last of these winters, for the more successful killing of these chiefs of the prairie, Thunder Face and his people joined with the people from Mdaeyadan or Lac qui Parle and placed their camp on the Owobopta stream, the Pomme de Terre[64] of the French, about ten miles from the lake. Here their arrangements were made for buffalo hunting. All chasing of them by individuals was forbidden on the penalty of what is called "soldier killing," which consists in cutting up his blanket or tent, breaking his gun or killing his horse. Without this precaution the buffalo, which is a sensitive animal, obeying his nostrils rather than his eyes or ears, and is easily scared by the near approach of man, would soon be driven off. For carrying out this plan the most important arrangement was the *Teeyoteepee,* or Soldiers' Lodge. Of this association all the men in the village or camp, young and old, were expected to be members. They were represented by two little bundles of shaved sticks, one black and the other red. They appointed their officers, which consisted of several judges, a common crier, and two or three cooks. The judges had the supervision of the *teepee,* but they were especially charged with the duty of knowing where herds of buffalo could be found, and of determining when the "surrounds" should be attempted. For this purpose they frequently sent out young men to *wakchanyan,* that is, to ascertain where the buffalo are and make report of the same. The public crier is an important personage. In general, he makes proclamation of everything decided on in the *Teeyoteepee.* In particular, he proclaimed the buffalo hunt, he asked the women to bring wood and meat to the Soldiers' Lodge, and he publicly

[64] The Pomme de Terre River rises in the northeastern corner of Grant County and flows south into the Minnesota River, southwest of Appleton.

praised those who did so. In carrying out these arrangements Thunder Face and his people bore a considerable part.[65] The buffalo in their migrations are influenced much by the course of the wind; other things being equal they will go with the wind. The wind had been blowing from the south almost constantly for some time. The buffalo had retired to the northwest so far that our people could not make a "surround" and get back home the same day. The wind must be turned. For this purpose they made *wakan*. They drummed, they rattled, they sung, they danced, they made processions out on the prairie, they prayed to Wazeya, the god of the north. And that night the wind turned around to the northwest.

During that winter a war party went out from this camp on the Pomme de Terre and brought in two Ojibway scalps. This filled up the measure of their joy. Plenty of meat to eat and enemies' scalps to dance around! Even the dogs rejoiced. Then, on the great days of the dancing, when the scalps were painted red, there was double joy. It was a time of giving gifts and new names. One man said, "Since I was born I never saw the like of this." That winter I spent many Sabbaths at the camp, going out on Saturday and returning on Monday. As I sat in a tent one evening the dancers came round and sung, "Scarlet Arrow you are a fool, you let the Ojibways strike you." Scarlet Arrow had killed an Ojibway; and this was understood to be the highest form of praise.

One who has not lived among Indians can hardly understand the enthusiasm which is created by the Scalp Dance. Night after night and often in the daytime also, all winter long and all summer long, it is kept up. The scalp, stretched, painted and ornamented with ribbons, is fastened to a hoop with a handle. This an old woman, mayhap, takes in her hand and, stepping into the middle, commences to dance and sing; while the young men, some of them painted black and the white of their eyes showing like demons, with their drums and rattles, arrange themselves on one side of a circle, and the young women and girls wearing their best blankets and shawls, fill out the other side. Then to the beat of the drum, the rattle of the deer's hoofs, and the song of

[65] For another account of the Soldiers' Lodge, see Riggs, *Mary and I*, 109.

the men, the merry dance goes round; the young women answering at intervals in a series of screeches which sound much like the call of the wild goose. With the exception of the Sacred Dance, the *Ewake hepee,* or Scalp Dance, is the only one in which the Dakota men and women may be said to dance together.[66]

In regard to the moral character of the Scalp Dance my opinion has frequently been expressed. It is the hotbed where the licentious feelings grow luxuriantly. It is also the academy where the war spirit is trained. But besides this it is an enormous wrong perpetrated upon humanity, which demands the interference of the United States government. Where religion is concerned, or even superstition, if you please, so long as it keeps within the precinct of morals, I would not have it disturbed by physical force. If light and love can not keep men from going down to everlasting death, there is no hope for them. If they can not be persuaded to enter the strait gate and to walk in the narrow way that leadeth unto life, then they must perish; for no tumbril nor cart, in which they might be carried against their will, ever travels that upward road, nor enters within those pearly gates.

But when it comes to be a question of privilege; when it is asked shall one man kill another, and having killed perpetrate on his dead body all kinds of indignities, and this rejoicing over the slain, in the Scalp Dance, it becomes quite a different question. Then I ask, shall civilized and Christian governments stand and look on, while such outrages are committed? Or, seeing them, shall they, like the priest and Levite, pass by on the other side? The suppression of the Scalp Dance would be a death blow to the war spirit.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 22, 1858

[66] For other accounts of the Scalp Dance, see Catlin, *Letters and Notes,* 1:240, 246, and plates 101 and 104; Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 49–53; and S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:437.

TOONKANWECHASHTA[67]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* March 24, 1858]

From Adam down to the present time, wherever society and language are found in what may be termed their primitive state, the names of individuals are of necessity significant. They are still formed directly from the language in common use. But when names have passed from one language into another, or perhaps through several languages, undergoing some change in form when they change owners, they often lose their signification in the passage, or, if this be preserved as a matter of history, the names themselves, as James and John, seldom suggest any idea except that of the persons to whom they are attached. But among the Dakotas, who have no cognomen, or family name, and all the names of individuals are formed directly from the language, the *nomen* may owe its form to some circumstance or attribute, some beauty or blemish in the person. Sometimes a name combines equivocal elements, as in the case of the one at the head of this paper. *Toonkan* properly and commonly means father-in-law, but in the sacred language of the Dakotas it is applied to stones and sometimes to the moon. In such a case a Dakota refers us for the meaning to the person who gave the name. As such a reference in the present instance is impossible, I venture to translate Toonkanwechashta by the homely and unpoetical phrase Stone Man.

Toonkanwechashta, when we first formed his acquaintance in the autumn of 1837, had the appearance of a man who had seen about thirty-five winters. He was a Dakota man of large frame, somewhat tending to corpulency, decidedly lazy, with a genial, laughing countenance. He loved to eat, to smoke, to sleep, and to talk. He was, nevertheless, possessed of a good deal of genius. No man could carve a pipestem, or make a wooden bowl or spoon more neatly than Toonkanwechashta. He prided himself on being able to do ornamental work of various kinds with a higher finish than the most of his compeers could do. He was among the first to learn to read and write his own language.

[67] No additional material was found on this Indian.

The first winter the mission was commenced, in 1835, Dr. T. S. Williamson[68] taught the young men of *Tokadantee,* which was occupied by Mr. Renville's soldiers. The Dakota language was then unwritten. The strange sounds which occurred in it had not then their representatives fully settled upon. There were, of course, no books. Some lessons prepared by hand with types and brush were the best that could be obtained. Slates and pencils were used, but sometimes it was more convenient to make the letters in the ashes. In the Soldiers' Lodge many young men learned to read and write their own language before they obtained any idea of the benefits of education. Their first notions of these benefits were very inadequate and often very erroneous; they had often been told that "the book did not lie." Their inference was that everything written must be so. Accordingly, a man sits down and writes, "Medicine man, I want you to give me a piece of meat." The book tells what it was told to tell, and in that way speaks truth. But the medicine man can not give the meat and so the book lies. But by degrees book education

[68] Thomas S. Williamson was born in South Carolina in 1800. He graduated from Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, in 1820, studied medicine, and practised at Ripley, Ohio, for a number of years. He took up the study of theology in 1833, was licensed to preach the following year, and received an appointment as missionary to the Dakota from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He and his wife reached Fort Snelling during the spring of 1835, and chose Joseph Renville's trading post at Lac qui Parle as the strategic site for a mission. From that time until the fall of 1846, Dr. Williamson was almost constantly at this point, and his medical knowledge gained him a reputation among the Indians. He and Riggs, with the assistance of Renville, translated parts of the Bible into Dakota, and prepared a number of schoolbooks. When a request for a missionary to settle at Little Crow's village of Kaposia came, Williamson responded, and he remained there until the removal of the Indians as provided by the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. In 1852 he built a new mission on the Yellow Medicine River about three miles above the Upper Sioux Agency, which he called Payzhehooteze. Two years later Riggs established the Hazelwood post near by, and the two worked together. Both stations were destroyed in the Sioux outbreak of 1862, and Williamson brought his family to St. Peter. He died there in 1879. Riggs, "Dr. T. S. Williamson," in *Mary and I,* 345–357, *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 108, and "Protestant Missions in the Northwest," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 6:125–135; Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 863; Winifred W. Barton, *John P. Williamson, a Brother to the Sioux,* 11–25, 53–64 (New York, 1919).

came to be better understood. On the last day of July, 1841, Governor Doty's treaty was signed at Traverse des Sioux.[69] Three of the Dakota names affixed to that instrument were autographs. This surprised and pleased the commissioner very much; and he gave to these men some special marks of favor. To the subject of this sketch he gave his own portfolio and writing implements. Toonkanwechashta read well and wrote a fair hand. Sometimes we employed him to correct translations, but he was not as valuable an assistant in this department of labor as some others.

We have said that our present hero was constitutionally rather lazy. He was not a good hunter, either of furs or game, but it was not because he lacked skill or ability. He only needed to be excited. In the early spring of 1839 I accompanied Mr. Renville's sons and soldiers up to Lake Traverse. They went on a trading expedition. It was still the last of April, but the grass was very green and the flowers were blooming on the prairies. Our animals rejoiced in the riches of the early spring. The geese and ducks had long since returned and were now making their nests and laying their eggs in the swamps and on the islands of the lakes. The first night we slept at the Owobopta or Pomme de Terre River, fifteen miles from home. That night

[69] Governor James D. Doty of Wisconsin, acting as a special commissioner of the United States, arranged a series of treaties with the Sioux of the Minnesota region during the summer of 1841. The first was signed with the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Wahpekute bands at Traverse des Sioux on July 31, and the second with the Mdewakanton at Mendota on August 11. A special agreement, also, was made with the half-breeds of the Dakota nation at Traverse on the former date, for the cession of lands which had been reserved to them in an earlier treaty of 1830. The Indians were to cede practically all their lands on the Minnesota River from the Mississippi to Lake Traverse in return for large payments of money and goods. Several reservations were to be established along the Minnesota for the use of the Sioux. It was said that the United States intended to reserve all the ceded lands north of the forty-third parallel for settlement by Indians who were to be removed from their lands east of the Mississippi. The treaty of 1841 was submitted to the Senate, but never ratified. Editorial summary in the *Missionary Herald*, 38: 59 (February, 1842); Thomas Hughes, "The Treaty of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, under Governor Alexander Ramsey, with Notes of the Former Treaty there in 1841, under Governor James D. Doty of Wisconsin," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 101–129 (part 1).

but little game was brought into the camp, only a few ducks and prairie chickens. The company depended on provisions brought from home, which formed not a very abundant supply. The next day we proceeded on our way and camped a little after noon at Middle Lake.[70] If some exertion be not made the majority of the company must go to bed hungry. The necessity aroused Toonkanwechashta. Taking up a gun, he went around the lake and, as the sun was setting, he came into camp bringing three gray geese and his leggings filled with goose eggs. Others brought in ducks and geese also, so there was an abundance. They commenced eating and smoking and talking. That night my attention was first arrested by the singularly felicitous characteristic of the Dakota language, which we denote by the term reduplication. I had known the fact before, but it had never struck me so forcibly as when I listened to Toonkanwechashta and Running Walker apparently trying their ability in the use of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs reduplicated. That night they ate and talked and smoked, and smoked and talked and ate until near midnight, when all the eggs and ducks and geese were consumed. When I expressed my astonishment that they should be able to eat so much, they replied that I would see them eat when they reached the Sisseton camp. And sure enough, when we had pitched our tents on the margin of the little stream which comes around the southern end of Lake Traverse and passes down into Big Stone Lake, the Minnesota near its source, then our people *did eat* buffalo meat.

Toonkanwechashta was one of those who for years frequently attended our religious services on the Sabbath. The first portions of Scripture which were printed in the Dakota language, in the winter of 1838-39, translations made by the help of Mr. Renville, there he read. He was not bound to the Dakota superstitions, either as a medicine man or as a member of the Sacred Dance. Indeed, at times, he thought he was almost a Christian, and expressed a wish to be baptized. But he was a polygamist. He had then three women; and in his younger days he had been still more licentious, and was now reaping in himself the bitter fruits of an unrestrained libertinism.

[70] Middle Lake apparently was one of a group of lakes northeast of Ortonville in Big Stone County, which have since been drained.

The summer of 1842 was passing. The autumn was coming on. The corn which they had planted and hoed was now yielding them food. An expedition to the Red Pipestone Quarry[71] was got up. It consisted of quite a party, some fifteen or twenty of the principal men of the villages at Lac qui Parle, among whom was Big Walker, the present chief of one of the clans in the vicinity of the Yellow Medicine. They had made a day's journey of thirty or thirty-five miles and encamped on the border of the Coteau des Prairies. Some, it appears, were sleeping under carts which had iron-bound wheels, and others lay near by. A storm came up. But there was more thunder and lightning than rain. They lay there unconscious of danger, when suddenly the electric fluid smote them, stunning, scorching, burning, and killing. At first they thought it was the charge of an enemy. Those who were only stunned gradually recovered to a state of consciousness. Eagle Help[72] and several others were a long time in coming to life and were found to be badly burned. Three men all in the meridian life, Toonkanwechashta, Wakenehdooza, and Tashoonka, and two horses were dead. In their language the *wakinyan,* the thunder, had done it. We say it is the lightning that burns and splits the gnarled oak, that tears up the earth in its passage to and from it; but the Dakotas ascribe all these things to the thunder-bird. The very name *wakinyan* signifies a winged animal. Sometimes they see this veritable creature. And if they have not seen it for themselves, they have heard a hundred stories about it, and have learned to make its image with a piece of coal or carve it with a knife. And surely a bird so wonderful as this must be *wakan.* Near the head of the Coteau des Prairies there are rocks in which are seen the tracks of this great bird, and the locality has obtained the name of Thunder Tracks. This sad event frustrated that expedition to the Red Pipestone. They buried the dead and returned home bringing the scathed and injured ones.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 25, 1858

[71] The Red Pipestone Quarry is located in the southwestern part of Minnesota in Pipestone County, a short distance north of the city of that name.

[72] For an account of Eagle Help, see *post,* 561–568.

Chatka, or Left Hand[73]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* June 2, 1858]

"I always thought that heaven was in the south, but now I learn it is above," said Left Hand to me, after listening to a translation of some chapters of the vision of the Apostle John. More than twenty years ago, when we first joined the mission at Lac qui Parle, the subject of this paper was an elderly man. His real name was Tachanhpetaninneya, or His-war-club-appearing-thou-art; quite a formidable name indeed. But as he was physically a Benjamite, he commonly went by the sobriquet of Chatka. He was a Mdewakanton, the son of a sister of the first Little Crow; and was brother-in-law to Mr. Renville of Lac qui Parle memory. Mr. Renville had great confidence in his brother-in-law's judgment and was probably more influenced by him than any other Indian. And probably no other one had learned so much from Mr. Renville in regard to the white man's religion as he.

From the commencement of the mission in 1835 Mr. Renville and his family had made part of the assembly who met on the Sabbath to worship God. Chatka and his families came also, for he had two wives and a number of children by each. Previous to the time when our readers are first introduced to Left Hand, his wives had both been admitted to a profession of faith in the religion of the Bible. At that time in the history of the mission it was thought that the questions involved in polygamy were not fairly brought up by the case of the women. The usual method of obtaining a wife among the Dakotas has been by purchase, the amount paid varying somewhat according to circumstances. The woman there is a kind of property. And although, like other live property, she may run away from her husband, the customs of society in such a case do not forbid him from cutting off her nose or otherwise disfiguring her. And if he buys one he may buy a second and a third, if he and his friends can raise the means. And although the circumstances of a woman who has a *taya,* which word expresses the relationship sustained by two or more wives of the same man towards each other, may be un-

[73] For another account of Left Hand, see Riggs, *Mary and I,* 71.

pleasant, still they are often preferred to the consequences which might follow the abandonment of the man. As the woman, then, in Dakota society has so much less to do in the marriage contract than the man, the question of polygamy did not fairly come up as a practical one, until the man himself made application to be received into the church. At least so it was then understood.

Left Hand had for some time been a hearer of the word of the Great Spirit. He professed also a desire to be a doer of the same. It was near the close of 1841 when he presented himself as a candidate for the sealing ordinances of God's house. During his examination his connection with more than one woman was made the subject of inquiry. He was asked whether he was now ready to put away one of his wives, and be married to the other according to the Christian mode. His reply was substantially that as yet he was not able to do this, but, if received into the church, he hoped to have assistance to enable him to forsake by and by not only that, but all other sins. It was argued in his behalf that he was an old man and had taken these women when in a state of heathenism, not being acquainted with the Scriptural rule of marriage as expounded by the Saviour; that there were difficulties in the way of his putting one away; and while it might have been wrong in him to take them, it was more than doubtful whether the word of God in its spirit and letter required him now to separate from either; that if he had taken more than one wife after hearing the Gospel, it was plain he should be required to repent of and forsake that sin previous to being admitted to the church; but under the circumstances he should rather be placed along with Abraham and Jacob and David and Solomon.

On the other hand, it was admitted that the subject was not without its difficulties. It was stated, however, that we did not live under the patriarchal and Jewish, but under the Christian, dispensation; that according to the meaning and intent of marriage itself it was impossible that the relation should ever lawfully subsist between any but one man and one woman; that polygamy was consequently an iniquitous state; that as a condition of church fellowship sin was to be repented of and forsaken; and that if a sin of that kind were baptized into the church and admitted to the communion table it would in all human probability maintain its right there. This subject finds an apt illustra-

tion in some things which are now transpiring in high places. Kansas is to become a *free* state by first being made a slave state.[74] "Let us do evil that good may come." The church session being equally divided on this question, it was referred to a presbytery in Ohio. The case never came up again. Some others in after years, similarly situated, desired to be baptized, but their willingness to be obedient in this respect to the requirements of the Master was practically, though not obtrusively, presented as the test of discipleship. It has been a matter of gratulation to us that, in the providence of God, we were kept from opening the door any wider to such as maintain relations which are inconsistent with a credible profession of the religion of Christ. The slaveholder, the polygamist, the drunkard, and such like, while they continue to practice their sins, whatever may be their claims otherwise to be regarded as good people, have no right to the fellowship of the people of God. "Be ye not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterous, effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers and extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." What a terrible lesson this teaches us! How many who pride themselves on belonging to a Christian people will be as surely shut out of the kingdom of God as if they were Dakota Indians! But the same sacred narrative holds out to us hope. "And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified."

I can not forbear mentioning here how deeply it is to be regretted that in regard to moral purity the Dakotas have had such bad schoolmasters. I honor the white man, who, on finding himself beset and overcome by temptation among the Indians, takes an Indian woman in good faith, marries her, and is faithful to his marriage covenant. But when men come among the Indians, and, casting off the restraints of law and the teachings of the Bible, give themselves up to an unrestrained libertinism, take women à la Indian, in some cases doing this when they have already promised solemnly before God and man to be faithful to

[74] Riggs wrote this sketch at the time that the struggle between the free and slave state men over the Lecompton Constitution in Kansas was at its height. As a northern man, his sympathies were with the anti-slavery party.

another, I have no words to characterize such conduct. Again I say it is to be exceedingly regretted that the Indians have among them such examples of civilization and Christianity. They surely did not need to be taught licentiousness. God knows that I mention these things more from sorrow than in anger. I do not set down aught in malice. I would there were no occasion for the Indians to make complaints in this matter. The time has been when such a course of conduct was surrounded with more palliating circumstances than at present. Public sentiment should demand a reform.

But to return from our wandering. Chatka was born somewhere on the Mississippi below St. Paul, probably about the year 1780. There he grew up hunting the deer and the buffalo; the latter were then abundant in the valley of the Mississippi. Of his remembrances I find some record made twenty years ago. "Corn," he says, "was first raised in the Dakota country when I was a small boy. Not far below Fort Snelling a few families planted a little. But the quantity raised was so small that they ate it up as soon as it was fit to roast. This they continued to do for some years and then abandoned the cultivation of the earth. The buffalo were then abundant along the Minnesota Valley. Those who lived here, namely, the Sissetons and Yanktons,[75] took meat and robes to those who dwelt on the Mississippi. But they, the Mdewakantons,[76] depended chiefly on the rice lakes and the deer and other game. When I had become a young man, the

[75] The Yankton Sioux were a roving tribe which hunted from Lake Traverse to the Missouri. Their home in 1834 was at Lake Traverse. It was through their country that Riggs traveled on his way to Fort Pierre in 1840. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:988; S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:321; Riggs, in the *Missionary Herald,* 37:183–185.

[76] The Mdewakanton belonged to the group known as the Lower Sioux, and, according to S. W. Pond, had their villages in 1834 on the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, extending from Winona to Shakopee. After the Treaty of Mendota in 1851 they were moved to a reservation in Redwood County, with the agency near the Minnesota River, about thirty miles below the Upper Sioux Agency at the mouth of the Yellow Medicine. This tribe took part in the Indian outbreak of 1862, and at its close was moved westward into Dakota. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 1:826–828; S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:320.

cultivation of the land was resumed. The first year one family planted a small piece of corn. The next year this was enlarged and some others followed the example. Thus the number of those that planted was gradually increased and their corn patches enlarged. Other villages followed suit until finally all the Mdewakantons planted more or less corn. As the buffalo went westward the Yanktons and some of the Sissetons followed them, abandoning the country about Lac qui Parle." As early as 1825, Left Hand thinks, some families came up from the lower Minnesota and planted at the Lake-that-speaks. He was among the first. The facts about planting among the Dakotas seem to be these. Corn was raised first, according to many of those now living, by the Kiyuksa clan down in Winona County.[77] Next we learn of its being planted a short distance below St. Paul. And next to that we find it raised at the island in Lake Traverse. This may have been about the year 1820. Five or six years after this the settlement at Lac qui Parle was commenced, and corn was planted first by the relatives of Mr. Renville, who was the means of its introduction at Lake Traverse also. Potatoes were introduced by the traders, but at just what time I can not say. Spring wheat was raised at the Lac qui Parle mission by Mr. A. G. Huggins as early as 1837. A small pair of burr stones were taken up, and for many years the mission families subsisted chiefly on the grain of their own raising.

In the recollections, from which I have before quoted, it is added, "The Dakotas believe that when they die they will go to the south. They think the Great Spirit lives in the south. But they have now learned, from the Holy Book, that he lives above."

As the brother of Mrs. Renville, Chatka held a conspicuous place in the *Tokadantee*. Mr. Renville kept a company of twenty or thirty men in the capacity of soldiers. They did him service when he sent out after furs. But the company was kept quite as much for appearances as for use. They always kept a lodge

[77] The Kiyuksa, or Breakers, were a band of the Mdewakanton Sioux, living first on the Iowa River, and later on the Mississippi. Their chief village in 1858 was Winona, on the site of the present city of that name. The members took "wives within prohibited degrees of kinship" and so were called "Breakers." Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:711; S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12:321.

standing near Mr. R's. stockade fort, which served as their general rendezvous, where they feasted more or less daily. It flourished especially under the guardianship of the first Mrs. Renville. The name *Tokadantee* was adopted from their badge, which was the skin of the *tokadan*, or prairie dog.

After the death of his brother-in-law, Mr. Renville, Chatka went down to Kaposia, intending to return in the fall. While at Mendota, in the summer of 1847, he was taken sick and died. The old man had, in his younger days, been a member of the *Wakanwachepee,* but had forsaken it when he heard the teachings of the word of God. He never afterwards had any confidence in the Dakota religion; but, as I am informed, he could not resist the temptation of strong drink which in those years was so easily obtained at St. Paul. In yielding to this temptation he gave sad evidence that he was not born again. His wives, being freed from "the law of the husband" by his death, still live, and one of them especially has well maintained the character of a sincere disciple of Jesus. Some of his children have become educated and conformed to the customs and habits of civilized men, while others have preferred to remain Indians.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 25, 1858

ZEETKANDOOTA, OR SCARLET BIRD[78]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* June 9, 1858]

"This was what father meant when he called me a woman," was said to have been the exclamation of Scarlet Bird's son, pointing at the same time to his own bowels which had been ripped out by an Ojibwa.

From a memorandum book of Indian murders, kept for many years by the Reverend G. H. Pond,[79] I extract the following:

[78] Zitkaduta, or Red Bird, of the Lake Calhoun band of Sioux, was a noted warrior and medicine man of great influence among the people of his tribe. S. W. Pond Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas,* 140.

[79] It seems probable that Riggs is in error in crediting this memorandum book of Indian murders to G. H. Pond. That such a chronicle was kept by S. W. Pond is learned from the opening paragraphs of his "Indian Warfare in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:129.

"1838—At Fort Snelling, one Ojibway, killed by a Dakota."

"1839—At Lake Harriet, one Dakota, killed by an Ojibway."

"On Rum River and at Stillwater, ninety-one Ojibways, killed by Dakotas in one day. The Dakota loss was seventeen killed. This broke up the Dakota mission at Lake Harriet."

"1840—Just below Mendota, two Dakotas, killed by Ojibways."

These historical facts maintain the relation to each other of cause and effect; and it will be the object of this paper to trace this relationship. In all their skirmishes doubtless this connection might be found to exist. Killing on one side has brought retaliation from the other.

The Ojibway man who was killed at or near Fort Snelling in 1838 was taken up and buried by white soldiers in their own burying ground.[80] The next year the Ojibways in some way obtained the impression that they were to receive annuities at Fort Snelling. This was a mistake. But under this impression they came down in the summer of 1839, men, women, and children, about a thousand strong.[81] They encamped near the garrison, where they remained several days. They made feasts and called the Dakotas, and the Dakotas invited them to eat at their tents

He says, "This paper is little more than a copy of a record which I kept for many years, of the number of Dakotas killed by their enemies, and the number of their enemies killed by them, so far as it could be ascertained." S. W. Pond Jr. likewise states that such an account was kept by his father. *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas,* 136.

[80] Neill says that this Ojibway was killed in an attempt to capture Hole-in-the-Day, who had so treacherously slaughtered a Dakota hunting party in the spring of 1838. The chief, however, had exchanged ornaments with another, and so escaped. Major Plympton demanded the punishment of the Sioux warriors who had thus violated his own pledge of the protection of Fort Snelling. Accordingly, two young braves were formally disgraced by Iron Cloud, their chief. The murdered Ojibway was buried in the post cemetery to prevent scalping and mutilation of the body. *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 2: 134–136. See also S. W. Pond's account, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3: 130.

[81] The entries in Taliaferro's journal for June, 1839, show clearly that Riggs's statement that the Chippewa came down to Fort Snelling under the impression that they were to receive their annuities there is incorrect. The regular place for the payment of the Chippewa annuities was the La Pointe subagency on Lake Superior, and the upper Mississippi bands must certainly have been notified of this fact by the subagent. Taliaferro also dispatched Peter Quinn, his official interpreter, to them, who, returning

in return. The Dakotas danced, and the Ojibways danced. On both sides it was understood that some of the young men had tried to provoke a quarrel, but nothing occurred during their stay to bring things to a crisis. Friendly relations were maintained, and finally the Ojibways started home in two companies. One division went up the Mississippi, and the other pursued their way towards Lake Superior up the St. Croix. Shortly before leaving, two young men were seen going from the Ojibway camp to the soldiers' burying ground. There they cried with a deep and bitter cry. It was over the grave of their father. There, doubtless, was formed the plan that in forty-eight hours was to be productive of terrible results.

The Ojibway parties pursued their homeward journey without apprehensions of danger. But these young men, whom we have just seen crying over the grave of their father, unknown, it is probable, to the rest of their people, lingered behind; and that night secreted themselves by a path which led from the village at Lake Calhoun. The next morning bright and early Hoopachokamaza, a Dakota hunter, started along this path, singing his morning song. He was killed and scalped, and the perpetrators fled homeward to dance around his scalp. They had now obtained revenge for their father's death, and their hearts felt good again.[82] It was not long before the slain one was found and

June 8, brought a letter in which the Chippewa said emphatically that they would not go to La Pointe. Their intention to come to Fort Snelling must also have been conveyed to the agent, for on June 9 he wrote, "I will send an Express to Rum River to stay the comeing of the Chippewas if practicable." On June 16 he received a letter from Hole-in-the-Day saying that he and his band would be at the post in four days, "to see Gov. Dodge on the subject of their Treaty; that they would not go to La Pointe for their annuity it was too far." Taliaferro had kept Governor Dodge informed by letter of the situation, and as a result of his representations instructions were finally issued that for that year the payment should be made at Fond du Lac.

[82] Indian Agent Taliaferro, recording this event in his journal, gives the name of the murdered Dakota hunter as Neekaa, the Badger. G. H. Pond, in a manuscript journal quoted by S. W. Pond Jr., indentifies him as Rupacoka Maza, which is probably a variation of the name given in the text by Riggs. S. W. Pond does not mention the murdered man's name in describing the affair. All affirm that he was a relative of Red Bird and of the chief of the Lake Calhoun band, that he was waylaid by the Chippewa, and that his murder was the immediate cause of the Rum River

carried to his friends at the village. The excitement produced by it was intense, but it would be of no use to attempt to follow the young men who had done the deed. They had already effected their escape. The only course that could be pursued with any hope of success, however wrong it might be, was to follow the Ojibway companies which were on their way home, carrying their children, their beds, their houses, and their bark canoes. Messengers were sent to the villages up the Minnesota and down the Mississippi to Kaposia. From all the nearest villages the warriors assembled. Many of them had only been waiting and, perhaps, wishing for something of this kind to transpire. It had come. The war cry was raised. The gun, the bow, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife were seized. They informed the agent that they were going to have vengeance; and he made no objections. They, too, divided their forces; a part were to go up the St. Croix and a part up the Mississippi.

The man killed at Lake Harriet was a relation of Zeetkandoota. Scarlet Bird took the beads and rings from his killed relative and, distributing them among the young men, made them swear vengeance on the Ojibways. To his son, a lad of fifteen, who did not at once seize his gun, he said, "Are you a woman?" Without saying a word the boy took his gun and followed his father. The next day they were both killed in the battle of Rum River. Poor boy, well did he remember his father's keen reproach. When dying, he asked some one where his father was, and said, "I suppose this is what father meant when he called me a woman."[83]

battle. The Ponds were stationed at Lake Harriet at the time and were among the first to arrive at the scene of the murder. Taliaferro received his information from the Reverend J. D. Stevens, who was also connected with the Lake Harriet mission. Taliaferro, Manuscript Journal, July 2, 1839; S. W. Pond Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas,* 143; S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:131; 12:459.

[83] Both S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:460, and S. W. Pond Jr., in his *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas,* 145, give the dying boy's last words as: "Where is my father? I want him to see this. I suppose it is what he wanted." S. W. Pond Jr., does not say that the father called the boy a woman, but only that he reproved him for not at once seizing his weapons. His account of the incident is based on a manuscript journal of Gideon H. Pond.

The party that went up the Mississippi did not overtake the Ojibways until after they had left camp the following morning. The young men had gone out to hunt. The elderly men with the women and children were moving forward, heavily ladened. The Dakotas commenced their work of slaughter until the noise of their guns had called back the Ojibway warriors. This turned the tide of battle. But already the carnage had been great. It was here that so many Dakota braves fell; but they had killed a half a hundred of their enemies; Scarlet Bird was killed, if I remember correctly, in the act of running upon a wounded Ojibway. He proposed dispatching him with tomahawk and knife, but the Ojibway's gun proved the more successful weapon. The other party struck across the country and came upon their enemy's camp before the morning light. It was on the margin of the lake. Their canoes were lying at the shore. The attack was deferred until daylight. Here the slaughter was great also. Some were killed in their tents and others in the water to which they fled. We draw a veil over the scene.

It was 1840. Away up among the pines of the Mississippi an Ojibway young man became anxious about his father's return. "My father," he said, "went down to Fort Snelling last year and has not returned. I will go and seek him." With a couple of companions he came down the Mississippi in a bark canoe. They passed down by Fort Snelling in the night with silent paddles, and the sentinel saw them not. A short distance below Mendota they secreted themselves in the bushes, putting their canoe ashore and hiding it also. There they waited all day. Many passed up and down in their canoes, but there seems to have been always more than one canoe in sight at the same time. They waited until the dusk of the evening was coming on, when one solitary canoe came lagging on behind all the rest. They shot the two persons in it, scalped them, and made their escape across the Mississippi and so to their own land. The Ojibway young man had found his father.[84]

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 25, 1858

[84] In June, 1840, a Dakota man and his wife were killed by four Ojibway who had hidden themselves about two miles below Mendota. Pond mentions no other such murder for this year, and it is likely that this is the incident to which Riggs alludes. S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3:133. See also Neill, *Minnesota,* 462, and "History of the Ojibways," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 5:491.

Toteedootawin, or Her Scarlet House[85]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* June 16, 1858]

It is written: "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea and things which are not to bring to naught things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence." With the chiefs and principal men among these Wahpetons it has been long a standing objection that women first embrace the gospel. "If you had called us, if you had feasted us, if you had talked to us," say they; "if you had persuaded us men to follow first, you might have expected to succeed in turning the whole nation. Now we will not follow in the wake of women." We reply to them, "Our consciences are clear in this matter." The truth is we did invite them, we did feast them, we did preach the gospel to them, publicly and privately; we did urge them to repent and believe; but they turned away. It has often been so. "Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble." But woman, true to her character of "last at the cross and first at the sepulcher," listened, repented, believed in Him of whom Moses, in the law, and the prophets and apostles did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God.

Woman, among the Dakotas, is not respected. She cuts the wood, she pitches and takes down and carries, in fact, owns the tent; she plants and hoes the corn; she dresses the skin and mends the moccasins; her relations sell her, and her husband buys her. Under such circumstances it could hardly be expected that her mental powers would be particularly developed. The peculiar duties of her life become dishonorable for men; and the lowest point of degradation is reached when a man has done that for which others can say of him, "He has made himself a woman."[86] But the invitations of the gospel of Christ are to

[85] See also Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 179–181, and *Mary and I,* 69.

[86] Other accounts of the position of woman among the Dakota are given by Riggs in his *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 172–177, and by S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12:453–460.

all as sinners. In this respect, men and women, Indians and white people, are all on the same level. There is no difference of caste or condition recognized. But it often so happens that those, who, on account of their external condition, think least of themselves, soonest come to Jesus. The burdened, the weary, the oppressed are especially invited to come to Him for rest.

At an early period in the history of the Dakota mission Toteedootawin was baptized and received into the little church that had been previously organized at Lac qui Parle. At her baptism she received the Christian name of Catherine. Of her Christian experience and feeling soon after this time, I will let her tell her own story by transcribing from a letter which she indited and some one wrote for her sixteen years ago. "Of the Dakota women that pray to the Great Spirit I was among the first. But still my thoughts are sinful and my words foolish. On this account I pray much to the Great Spirit. I have grown up in sin, but since I have heard the word of the Great Spirit, I have prayed every day and every night to his Son. I pray much that He would forgive what I have done wickedly. I pray much for all my children and relatives. They have heard the word of the Great Spirit, but they still cleave to that which is evil."

In the summer of 1841, we built at Lac qui Parle a church of unburnt brick. In digging for the foundation, the women, as well as some of the men, rendered assistance. In regard to this she says: "Now we are going to have a holy house, and for that we rejoice greatly. In this house we will pray to the Great Spirit. We have dug ground for it two days already, and we have worked having the Great Spirit in our thoughts. When this house is built, we shall be glad. In it we will pray; He will have mercy on us; He will hear what we say and make us rejoice. As yet we only do what He hates. In this house we will confess to Him; our thoughts, our words, our actions, these we will confess to Him, and He will pardon them, for the sake of Jesus Christ, his Son. God has mercy on us and is giving us a sacred house, in which we will pray for all people."

Catherine was once a member of the Dakota Sacred Dance. But in this letter she says, "I have no fellowship with Dakota customs. Since I have heard the word of the Great Spirit, I seek that alone." And this she has continued to do, although

for years she was hated, defamed, and threatened with death by members of that secret society.

The first church bell used in Minnesota was purchased in 1842, and paid for with avails of moccasins which were furnished by the female members of the church at Lac qui Parle. Into this movement Her Scarlet House entered with a good will. That bell was persecuted and shot at by the heathen part of the village, but it did good service for many years, calling the children to school on week days, and the older people to meeting on the Sabbath. But it was cracked by ringing it one morning when the thermometer was thirty degrees below zero.

In certain kinds of ornamental Indian work Catherine manifested a good deal of skill. For some reason the Dakota women generally are in this respect not equal to the women of many other Indian tribes. But Toteedootawin in her younger days made very fine specimens of quilt and hair pipestems.

In the first year of our operations at Lac qui Parle various efforts were made in order to turn the labor of Dakota women from the axe and the hoe to the distaff and loom. Spinning wheels were brought out and a loom was made. Mr. Renville at that time owned quite a flock of sheep. Flax was raised and spun. A number of women manufactured short gowns and more knit stockings. Catherine made a blanket for herself. The efforts in this direction were not without useful results. They showed the Indians that some things could be done as well as others. They tended to encourage industry and thrift in the women. They made the men feel the importance of helping their wives in the field and in the woods. But still the scheme failed. It cost too much to make fabrics in this way.

Her Scarlet House learned to read in her own language and for many years she has read daily out of the Book of Life those wonderful things therein revealed. And she has been generally a consistent, active, praying Christian woman. Seemingly ever ready to do her duty, when the question of her husband's joining the church was discussed, she was willing and desirous, as the second woman taken, to be put away. She did more than most women, according to her ability, in training up her children, of whom three are still living, two sons and a daughter, in the fear of the one Great Spirit. They in their turn now have families

and are professors of the religion of the Bible. Nearly sixteen years ago one of her sons with two other young men were taken on to Ohio, where they spent a year. Before they had reached the borders of the Dakota country, they received letters ordering them to return; if they did not, their mothers would die of grief. But in this feeling Catherine did not largely participate. Indeed, she manifested more of the self-sacrificing spirit in giving up her own children to be educated than she has since done in regard to her grandchildren. But that is no uncommon thing. Old age has been coming on her of late years, and she can not now do what she once could.

As she is still living, I will close this record of her with an extract from the pen of another, written some fourteen years since. "'I shall not think it hard to spend one day without a house.' Thus said a Dakota woman. Perhaps many others might think so too, if they knew it would be a pleasant summer day without a shower. But in the winter when the snow is deep, and the wind blows cold, who would not think it hard to be even one day without a shelter? And yet the love of Christ, and a wish to obey and please him, made this Indian woman happy without a house, even in the cold wintry weather. Catherine left Oak Grove, near Fort Snelling, in January on her return to Lac qui Parle with her little family, the youngest a daughter of seven years. As the Dakotas who live near the buffalo region often do, she had exchanged her winter dwelling, a large skin tent, for kettles, blankets, etc. These with provisions for a journey of three weeks were to be conveyed without even the aid of an Indian dog or pony. After carrying their packs during the day, they cleared away the snow, made a fire, and spent the night in the open air. Owing to inclement weather they spent two Sabbaths at Traverse des Sioux. Knowing that if they rested, according to the commandment, the Sabbath after leaving us, they would be homeless and alone, I inquired if she intended to remember the Sabbath day. 'Certainly,' was the reply, accompanied with a look of surprise. On being told that we feared that she might think having no tent to shield them from the cold, they must hasten homeward, she said, 'I know God has commanded us to rest, and I shall not think it hard to spend one day without a house.' She afterwards wrote, 'Three sleeps from Little Rock we rested the Holy day. On that day we

prayed according to the custom of meeting at Lac qui Parle. Now it seems to me I have a new understanding of the Sabbath! This was according to the declaration of Christ, "He that doeth my will shall know of the doctrine."'"

We have sometimes been charged with beginning at the wrong end, with not approaching the Dakotas in the right way, with preaching the gospel to them when they were not in a condition to receive it. Such objections we have answered by saying in all honesty that we have been desirous of prosecuting our work in the best manner; and that if any one could point us to a more excellent way, we would gladly avail ourselves of it. If any one ever supposed that we were desirous of Christianizing without civilizing the Dakotas, it was a mistake. Our efforts in various ways show that we are not unmindful of their elevation in the scale of manhood, as well as in their becoming the children of God. We have often assisted them in doing what, if we had remained in our native land, we would not have been under the necessity of doing for ourselves. And in order to make labor honorable we have often done with our own hands what it would have been economy to have hired done. We have not tried to teach them religion and letters alone, but spinning and knitting and weaving and ploughing and house-building. But we have regarded the gospel of God as the great and true civilizer, and we still so regard it. The present type of civilization in the world has been produced by the Bible; and that distinguishes it from the civilization of Greece and Rome. In carrying to the Indians the religion of the Bible, we have desired to carry to them the education of the Bible, education in the most extended sense.

A Philadelphia lawyer once made this plea in our behalf. We were spending a day with a friend in the city of Penn. We had visited many places of interest and finally drew up before the Girard College. It is known that Stephen Girard very foolishly and very unjustly made it one of the provisions of the will that no clergyman of any denomination should ever be connected with his institution and that no minister of the gospel should ever be permitted to visit it. This regulation is attempted to be carried into effect. Of the fact, however, I was not aware until afterwards. "My friend," said the lawyer, true to his character and profession, "my friend is not only a minister of the gospel, but

he is a missionary among the Indians. He teaches them not religion alone, but agriculture, the mechanic arts, and letters also; and he has just superintended the printing of a grammar and dictionary of the Dakota language under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution." I may only add that the plea was as successful as true; we were conducted through the grounds and marble halls of Girard College.

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA, February 25, 1858

ETAWAWENEHAN, OR FEARFUL FACE[87]

[*Minnesota Free Press*, June 23, 1858]

Old Eve, as we called her, had five sons. One of them was killed in a drunken frolic some time before we came among the Dakotas. At the same time the elder one of the brothers, Cloud Man, was stabbed badly but recovered. Of these five brothers, the three older ones are still living; they are Cloud Man, Eagle Help, and Paul Mazakootamane,[88] the deliverer of Miss Gardner—all men of mark in their different spheres. Hereafter they may be noticed further in these memoirs; but at present we are concerned with the youngest of the five, Fearful Face. Twenty

[87] See also Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas*, 232.

[88] Cloud Man, or Marpiyawichashta, was the chief of the Lake Calhoun band of Sioux. S. W. Pond says that he was not an hereditary chief, but that when a few families settled in that locality to try farming, he as the fittest man was appointed chief by the agent. He signed the treaties of Mendota in 1836, and of Traverse des Sioux in 1851. During the outbreak of 1862 he was one of the friendly Indians who acted with Gabriel Renville and Little Paul. S. W. Pond, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12:326; Gabriel Renville, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:600 (part 2).

Little Paul Mazakutemani, a chief of the Sisseton Sioux, was one of the group of Christian Indians who formed the Hazelwood republic. He signed the treaties of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, and of Washington in 1858. As proof of his friendship for the whites, he went to the camp of Inkpaduta after the Spirit Lake massacre and rescued Miss Abbie Gardner. During the Sioux war of 1862 he did valiant service both as a member of the friendly band under Gabriel Renville and as scout for General Sibley's expedition. Renville, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:601–613 (part 2); Riggs, *Mary and I*, 141. See also Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:826.

years ago he had about attained to man's estate, a good-looking, well-formed, athletic, active young man. No one could dance with a better grace than he, and but few were more successful in hunting. He learned to read easily, and his chirography was very good. In this respect he was favorably noticed by Governor Doty at the treaty of 1841. He was brave and daring and jealous, as will appear in the sequel. But few men of his years could boast more of war deeds. His ambition and his jealousy destroyed him.

Taken as a whole, the family to which Fearful Face belonged have from the first attached themselves to the party of progress. They were closely allied to Mr. Renville. But notwithstanding all the brothers then living, except Cloud Man, applied themselves to learning and did many things not in accordance with Dakota custom, they were still eminently Dakotas in their social feelings and family relations. Etawawenehan, although still quite a young man, had already had several wives which had either left him or which he had "thrown away," to use their own expression. He still retained two, as will be seen from the following extract taken from an old record, which well illustrates the beautiful results of polygamy wherever it exists.

Towards the close of February, 1841, some transactions of a semitragical character set the whole village at Lac qui Parle in an uproar. A wife of Fearful Face was secretly given to Chanhdashkamaza, Iron Hoop; and in the meantime it was intimated that he, the said Fearful Face, was too cowardly to revenge the insult. This aroused his untamed spirit, and going alone to the tent where she was surrounded by her own friends and those of his rival he dragged her to the teepee of one of his own relatives. At first he magnanimously determined to make a feast and invite Iron Hoop and give him this false wife. But, learning that there was a plot to take away from him the other also, he declared he would have revenge by cutting off the nose and ears of this one that secretly had chosen another man. Her mother's cries and entreaties alone saved her from this degradation. But the spirit of revenge which had been aroused must spend itself on something. Taking his bow and arrows, he went to a horse belonging to his false wife's sister and killed it; then to another and killed it; and then, calling Iron Hoop repeatedly, said, "If you are a

man, come out." Iron Hoop did not make his appearance. It was expected by the relatives of Fearful Face that the other party would retaliate by killing their horses, and perhaps a battle would be the result. One of his brothers brought a horse over and had just secreted it in the mission stable when a gun was heard, and the crying and screaming which followed led us to fear that the difficulty had become alarming. The children rushed to the mission houses for safety, and we anxiously waited to learn what had happened. Ampatootokacha, Another Day, who has since become better known as Hotonhowashta, Good Sounding Voice, the associate of Paul in rescuing Miss Gardner, had attempted to shoot himself.[89] Being a relation of one party and the *koda* or particular friend of the other, both had entreated him to take sides with them. Finding that he could honorably do neither, he attempted suicide. But the contents of the pistol passed above his head and only stunned him for a little while. This closed the drama for that time, which was re-opened after many days.

Difficulties of long standing had existed between the Common Dog and the Brush village clans. To the former belonged Cloud Man and his friends. The other is still represented by Walking Spirit, as the principal man.[90] The nephew of Walking Spirit had taken to wife a sister of Cloud Man, but neither did this do away with past remembrances. In the summer of 1844, Cloud

[89] The name is ordinarily given as Other Day. John Other Day, a son of Zitkaduta, or Red Bird, was born in 1801. Becoming a member of the church at Lac qui Parle, his influence was used for the advancement of the whites. In 1857 Agent Charles E. Flandrau employed him with Paul Mazakutemani to obtain the release of the white women who had been captured at Spirit Lake. During the outbreak of 1862 he guided a party of sixty-two people through the hostile lines to safety and later acted as a scout for General Sibley. In recognition of his services Congress granted him a sum of money. He later moved to South Dakota, where he died in 1871. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2: 163. See also Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies,* 571; Riggs, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 6:175, and *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 301–303; and Flandrau, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 3: 396–398.

[90] Wakanmani, or Spirit Walker, as he is usually called, was a chief of the Wahpeton Sioux at Lac qui Parle. He became a Christian, and was attached to the interests of the whites; his sons rescued Mrs. Marble, one of the Spirit Lake captives. Although friendly during the Sioux massacre, Spirit Walker was frightened by the stories of Little Crow, and led his band into Dakota. After the death of her husband he protected

Man and Fearful Face came up from St. Paul with whiskey. As they passed the Traverse I remonstrated with them strongly. The younger of the brothers seemed disposed to spill the spirit water, but they brought it on up. In the drunkenness that followed, some one shot Etawawenehan's horse. It was charged upon the young men of the Brush village. The first one of this clan that Fearful Face met afterwards was Blue Cloud. Some sharp words passed, when the Common Dog shot the Brush villager with an arrow. That arrow point was never extracted. It worked its way up and down through the flesh, sometimes sticking fast, when it apparently ossified around the iron; then Blue Cloud seemed to be well again. And then, again cutting itself loose, it pursued its wandering course, causing intense pain and, finally, after years of intense suffering, death.

After shooting Blue Cloud, Etawawenehan was aware that they would seek his life to take it. That night, armed, he met two men and asked them who they were. They not answering, he drew up his gun and shot one of them. The bullet passed through the arm. In this case it turned out that the wounded man was a cousin of the one first shot.

Fearful Face had now attained to a notoriety of wickedness which might have been avoided if he had kept himself clear of the spirit water. Some of his relations fled, and he himself was advised to go up to Big Stone Lake, where some of his brothers had removed. This he said he would do because Mr. Renville's sons had requested it, but he expected to be killed, he deserved to be killed, and he should yet expiate his crimes by giving his enemies his body.

The Wahpetons, or Leaf villagers, include the Brush villagers. Both the specific and the general term were largely represented at a Dakota camp on the Coteau des Prairies near the Red Pipestone. By a strange infatuation Etawawenehan and his mother were led to pitch their tent there. Whiskey, the ever-present agent of evil, is there also. No one is willing to attack Fearful

Mrs. Amos Huggins for a time, and finally delivered her into the hands of the friendly Indians sent ahead for the purpose by General Sibley. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:624; Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 313–318; Doane Robinson, "History of the Sioux Indians," in *South Dakota Historical Collections,* 2:296.

Face alone, but they band together to destroy him. He, like a bird giving [*sic*] to the snare, goes to drink spirit water with them. One quarrels with him and engages in a scuffle, two others seize him by the arms, and Iron Hoop, the man we have seen years before taking his wife, shoots an arrow through his body. Etawawenehan pulls this through and commences using it to defend himself, all the time shouting and repeating, "I am not afraid of you." But his efforts are vain. His enemies overpower him and kill him with knives and hatchets, no one there but his poor old mother caring for him. Died Etawawenehan as a fool dieth. He might have been a better man. He might have lived to some good purpose.

We are now back at Lac qui Parle. Revenge has done its work. But unless retaliation is stopped we have only reached the beginning of the end. There is, however, a desire among the principal men to heal up past difficulties. The Dakota method of doing this is called *kecheyooshkapee,* literally freeing each other. The old fashion was to make the wrong-doers climb a pole. A large sapling was cut, barked, and painted, and set up in the ground, something like a Fourth of July pole. It was called "sacred wood." The individuals, whose iniquities were to be put away, were stripped and painted red. They were regarded as bound, though only a string of otter skin was tied around their arms. Then, all the while singing in the presence of the assembled multitude, they climb the sacred wood. When they have reached the top, they are shot at with powder, which process is continued until they climb down or fall to the ground They are then taken up, and, as soon as recovered from the stunning effects of the powder blown in their ears, water is given them to drink, and the pipe of reconciliation is passed around. After this the ceremony closes by a great collection of blankets and guns being given to the persons who have been thus pilloried, as white people would say.

But this practice of making them climb the sacred wood has gone into disuse. It is dangerous. The temptation is very strong in some cases to shoot something harder than powder. On the occasion of which we were speaking, it was dispensed with. The Renvilles were the mediators. The individuals who had acted the most conspicuous part in killing Etawawenehan, namely, Iron

Hoop, Blue Cloud, Big Frenchman, and Round Cloud, were painted and had their arms tied with thongs of otter skin. In this manner they were brought into the assembly. Then a United States flag, which had been given to Mr. Renville years before by Messrs. Nicollet and Fremont,[91] was thrown over them. The same was then removed and placed over Cloud Man and his brothers. Then water was given to both parties and the peace pipe, painted blue, was passed around, after which they all feasted together; then gifts of various kinds passed between the parties, and to them from those who were spectators on the occasion. Thus, a reconciliation was effected. Past wrongs were to be forgotten, and they were to live henceforth in eternal friendship. It could not entirely heal the wounded spirit and the sore hearts; but the ceremony did much to prevent any further hostilities. An instructive sequel followed. Iron Hoop was killed shortly after by the Ojibways. And Blue Cloud and Round Cloud died in a few years. "The way of trangressors is hard."

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA

MRS. RENVILLE[92]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* June 30, 1858]

Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. Joseph Renville of Lac qui Parle, was a full-blood Dakota, descended from the Little Crow royal family. She was rather above the medium height of Dakota women, of a graceful form, and possessed of a good deal of natural dignity. Sometimes a little hauteur was manifest in her deportment. To some of us she appeared rather reserved, occasionally unhappy; but those of her own sex and people who best knew her always spoke highly of her as very intelligent and affable. Indeed, she must be regarded as a Dakota noblewoman. At the time of her death she had lived with Mr. Renville about thirty-

[91] Nicollet and Fremont stopped at Renville's trading post at Lac qui Parle during the summer of 1838 on their return from the exploration of the Coteau des Prairies and the Red Pipestone Quarry. Fremont describes the expedition in his *Memoirs of My Life,* 1:30–37 (Chicago and New York, 1887).

[92] Riggs gives another account of Mrs. Renville in his *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 165.

six years, and was the mother of a number of children, eight of whom were then living. They were married at Prairie du Chien by a French priest, when as yet there were no Protestants in this part of the country. Mrs. Renville was the first full-blood Dakota who was received into the mission church formed at Lac qui Parle; and she is believed to have well maintained and illustrated her profession of the religion of Jesus. Among the Indians she had the reputation of being remarkably benevolent, giving largely on all occasions; and on this account she was greatly beloved, and much lamented at her death.

For many years Mr. Renville must have prosecuted a flourishing trade. At least, it must have been considered quite an important one by his employers, for he was furnished abundantly with goods and provisions. And it was easy, with a large number of dependents, to make away with a large amount of stores, and that without really laying themselves open to the charge of extravagance. In a former paper I have made reference to Mrs. Renville's connection with *Tokadantee*. Featherstonhaugh, whom the Reverend E. D. Neill characterizes as "a dyspeptic growling Englishman," in his *Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor,* made in the summer of 1836, I believe, thus refers to this Soldiers' Lodge: "I learned that Renville entertained a company of stout Indians to the number of fifty, in a skin lodge behind his house, of extraordinary dimensions, whom he calls his braves or soldiers. To these men he confided various trusts, and occasionally sent them to distant points to transact his business."[93] This statement is much exaggerated. Still it must be admitted that the *Tokadantee* was regarded as quite a family institution; and it was cherished and nourished with quite as much pride by the female, as by the male, part of the family.

[93] Riggs gives this passage as it is quoted by Neill in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 1:202. The correct reading is, "I learnt that Renville entertained a select company of stout Indians, to the number of forty in a skin lodge behind his house of extraordinary, dimensions, whom he called his braves or soldiers. To these men he confided various trusts, and occasionally sent them to distant points to transact his business." George W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor,* 1:359 (London, 1847). Featherstonhaugh made his trip up the Minnesota in the fall of 1835.

In the spring of 1839, Mrs. Renville was taken ill with disease, which affected her lungs, and finally terminated in death. During her illness, Dr. Williamson, acting as her physician, was with her frequently, and, embracing opportunities for becoming acquainted with her mental and spiritual state, was much better satisfied than he had previously been that her faith and hope were in God. Those who watched by her until her last say that she often spoke of Jesus as her only hope. On the morning of the Sabbath, February 16, 1840, Mr. Renville was with her alone, and said, "You seem to be failing much to-day." "Yes," she said, "to-day God calls me to a feast. Jesus Christ, who suffered for me, I have in remembrance as my only trust. Of a truth to-day my afflictions and troubles will be at an end. God invites me. This day I shall stand before the Great Spirit. I shall henceforth reign in his presence and joy with Jesus Christ." Afterwards her children and relatives came in and sat around her crying. She said to them, "It is the holy day, sing and pray to God." They did so, and when they had ceased, they spoke to her but she answered them not again.

The day after she died, Mr. Renville remarked to the writer of this article that he had seen a great many die, but never one like her, hers was a holy death. And the general impression made upon the Indians at the time was that her dying was different from anything they had ever seen before.

So fades a summer cloud away,
  So sinks the gale when storms are o'er;
So gently shuts the eye of day;
  So dies the wave along the shore.

We have reason to believe that she went to the rest that "remaineth for the people of God."

It is a common feeling of our humanity to wish to pay respect to the dead whom we loved while living. In this respect the Dakotas do not belie their origin. However poor they may be, they are not satisfied unless they can wrap the dead one in a new blanket; and if they are able they use calico and cloth and blankets to the amount of many dollars. When one is sick and likely to die, the relatives show their attachment by giving, one a new blanket or shawl, one a piece of cloth, one a piece of calico; and the articles thus cast upon the person while yet alive are usually

buried with him. Or if part of them are taken off when the body is placed in the coffin, they are reserved to be distributed to a war party. Various customs of this kind have prevailed. In the case of Mrs. Renville, it is said ten blankets of various colors and textures were wrapped around the body. It was then placed in a very large box on a feather bed, together with all the clothes of the deceased. Her friends did not wish to retain anything in the house that had belonged to her wardrobe, nor did they wish to see her clothing worn by others. This is Dakota feeling.

The native custom of disposing of the dead, as I have had occasion to mention in a former paper, is that of placing upon a scaffold. Sometimes the box or trough containing the body, and not unfrequently the body wrapped in a blanket or buffalo robe, without a coffin, was placed up in a tree, where it remained till it rotted and the bones dropped down. The custom of burying the dead out of sight has come to them from the white people, and is now the prevailing practice at many villages, except in the winter when the ground is hard frozen. In the case of Mrs. Renville, the great box was placed in a root house, according to her request, where it remained for many years; and after having become the depository of several others of the family, it was finally buried.

The excessive wailing for the dead, common among the Dakotas, Mr. Renville used his influence to restrain. A little more than a month after the death of Mrs. Renville a grandchild was taken from them. On this occasion all was quiet until the moment the spirit took its flight. Then some women who were in the room awaiting the event commenced wailing. The parents and other relatives kissed the child and, in the expressive language of Scripture, "lifted up their voices and wept." A great multitude was soon gathered in, and there was a very great wailing, "like the weeping of Jazer for the vine of Sibmah." When it had ceased, Mr. Renville remarked that they did not mean to blame God. They felt that he did all things well; but this affliction came so near the death of Mrs. Renville that they were unable to control their feeling. On the morrow, when the remains of the child were deposited in the same box with its grandmother, Mr. Renville said, "Restrain yourselves," and there was no such outburst of feeling as there had been previously.

It has not been easy for us to speak against the practice of wailing for the dead without giving offense. And yet indulging in it excessively, as the Dakotas do, even when they do not cut themselves, often proves injurious to health. Weeping at the grave of one soon makes another pile of earth. The infliction of self-torture we have always condemned, and among the Dakotas who have come much under our influence the custom has gone into desuetude. Still they think it unnatural not to wail for a dead friend. A goose, when its mate is shot, flies over crying. A deer, when its companion is taken away, makes its voice to be heard. All nature cries out when it is afflicted, and for man not to do so is unnatural.

It seems proper to add, in this connection, some statements on another point, namely, that of giving food to the dead. I find the following in a writing made at Traverse des Sioux more than a dozen years ago. "The *little oaks of weeping,* where our brother T. was buried, became also an Indian burial place. This gave us an opportunity of observing more particularly some of their customs in regard to the dead. The practice of taking food to the grave was usually continued for a whole year. A young man shoots some ducks and lays them on his brother's grave. A woman cooks a kettle of corn and takes it to the place where her departed child rests. When they had been out to the sugar camp and rice lakes and return, a portion must be carried and given to the spirits of the dead. They expect their offerings to be taken and appropriated by friends. Whatever may have been the origin of this objectionable practice, the gifts seem now to be regarded chiefly in light of tokens of affection for the dead." Some years after this the only child of a young Indian mother at Lac qui Parle was badly burned, and died after weeks of suffering. It was buried near the mission premises. That Dakota mother often visited the grave of her child, bringing food, wailing and lying for hours in the cold wintry days by its side. These facts were the foundation of the "Bereaved Mother's Lament," written by Mrs. Riggs, and originally inserted in the *Dakota Friend,* which will serve as an illuminated closing to this paper. alas! My hope, my comfort is departed, my heart is very sad.

"Mechoonkshe, mechoonkshe, my daughter, my daughter, alas! My joy is turned into sorrow, and my song into wailing. Shall

I never more behold thy sunny smile? Shall I never more hear the music of thy voice? The Great Spirit has entered my lodge in anger, and taken thee from me, my first-born and only child. I am comfortless and must wail out my grief. The pale faces repress their sorrow, but we children of nature must give vent to ours or die. Mechoonkshe, mechoonkshe!

"The light of my eyes is extinguished, all, all is dark. I have cast from me all comfortable clothing and robed myself in comfortless skins, for no clothing, no fire can warm thee, my daughter. Unwashed and uncombed, I will mourn for thee, whose long locks I can never more braid; and whose cheeks I can never more tinge with vermillion. I will cut off my dishevelled hair, for my grief is great. Mechoonkshe, mechoonkshe!

"How can I survive thee? How can I be happy, and thou a homeless wanderer to the spirit land? How can I eat if thou art hungry? I will go to the grave with food for thee. Thy bowl and spoon are placed in thy coffin for use on the journey. The feast for thy playmates has been made at the place of interment. Knowest thou of their presence? Mechoonkshe, mechoonkshe!

"When spring returns, the choicest ducks shall be thy portion. Sugar and berries also shall be placed near thy grave. Neither grass nor flowers shall grow thereon. Affection for thee will keep that little mound desolate, like the heart from which thou art torn. My daughter, I come, I come. I bring thee parched corn. Oh! how long wilt thou sleep? The wintry winds wail thy requiem! The cold earth is thy bed, and the colder snow thy covering! I would that they were mine. I will lie down by thy side. I will sleep once more with thee. If none discovers me, I shall soon be as cold as thou art, and together we will sleep that long, long sleep from which I can not wake thee. Mechoonkshe, mechoonkshe!"[94]

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA

[94] The "Lament," with some slight changes, is to be found also in Riggs, *Gospel among the Dakotas*, 33, and in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1:277.

WAKANAYAMANE[95]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* July 7, 1858]

"To walk talking sacredly" may be regarded as the literal translation of the above name. He was a young man who resided at Lac qui Parle, having a small family and respectable connections and attainments. During the month of March of this present year he accompanied a war party to the Ojibway country, and was brought back dead. But he did not die in battle. Unfortunately, as they would say, and, providentially, as I would say, they saw no enemies. A few weeks previous Wakanayamane had been down as far as the Sioux agency, and, carrying back with him that which intoxicates, he suddenly found himself incapacitated for traveling, and, if he had not been found, would have perished on the prairie. His sickness and death on the war tramp had doubtless a very intimate connection with his previous debauch and suffering.

The war spirit among the Dakotas on the reservation has of late received a fresh impulse. A little more than a year ago quite a number of our Indians, among whom were Running Walker and Cloud Man, while out hunting, met with the Ojibways, shook hands with them, and separated on friendly terms. It was understood that both parties desired peace, and the expressed wish of the Dakotas here [was] that measures would be taken by the officers of our government to consummate and make binding such a treaty of amity and friendship. But nothing I believe was done in this direction. Early in the next summer the Pillagers made a strike on some women and children who were digging *teepsima* near the head of the Coteau. Eight were killed and some others wounded. The Dakotas complained of this and asked the authorities of the United States to see that reparation was made. This was not done. The Ojibways, I understand, promised to deliver up the murderers, but did it not.

Last fall the Dakotas and Ojibways met in their hunting excursion. Those from this part of the reservation again shook hands, and through the intervention of some white men made a formal and written peace engagement. In the meantime, in another part of the country, a young man from Lac qui Parle was

[95] No additional material was found on this Indian.

killed and scalped by Ojibways. His body was brought home. The news of this unprovoked attack was soon conveyed to some of the party who had but just now entered into peaceable arrangements. The spirit of revenge was aroused in the young men. The opportunity was too good to be lost. Some of the Ojibways with whom they had shaken hands were known to be within reach. The plan was opposed by some and thwarted once, but it nevertheless prevailed. They had the stronger argument on that side, inasmuch as Superintendent Cullen[96] was reported to have said at the Mdewakanton payment that they might kill as many Ojibways as they pleased. This, I presume, was not true. But by those who favored retaliation it was used by way of justification. The result was the killing of one Ojibway man and the bringing home of two women captives. So far we did not feel like blaming the Dakotas. We were desirous that the captives should be returned; and for some time we supposed from the language used by officers civil and military, that their rendition would be required and enforced. During the winter Agent Brown[97] came up twice from the Lower Agency for the purpose, as it was announced, of demanding their release. But for some reason he did not deem it wise to insist upon the demand, and so was unsuccessful. In the early spring one of these women escaped, and the other has within a few days been taken down below, it is supposed with the intention of bartering her at Fort Ridgely.

As the rendition of the captives was not enforced, the Dakotas very naturally inferred that the United States government, like Gallio, the deputy of Achaia, "cared for none of these things." This had its influence in raising our spring war parties. But another and more potent cause was found in the dissatisfaction which arose out of the circumstances attending the taking on of

[96] W. J. Cullen was superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern district, which included the Chippewa of Minnesota and western Wisconsin as well as the Sioux, from 1857 to 1861, with headquarters at St. Paul. United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1857, pp. 46–53; 1860, pp. 42–48.

[97] Joseph R. Brown, a well-known Indian trader, succeeded Charles E. Flandrau as Sioux agent late in 1857. He held office until 1861. United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports,* 1857, p. 60; 1860, pp. 54–63.

deputations to Washington. Many were disappointed, and consequently they must go on a war tramp.

The first expedition was made by Mdewakantons, which resulted in the killing of two Ojibways in the region of Kandiyohi Lake. They had climbed a tree to reconnoitre and were shot down by the Dakotas, who were lying in ambush.

A war party from this vicinity made a sortie into the country above the forks of the Chippewa River. There they found six Ojibway men who had been hunting, but had taken the precaution to fortify themselves with a breastwork of timber. They were attacked within this fortification and two killed, the other four escaping. A number of the Dakotas were wounded. Ahanze, the Little Rapids chief, is on at Washington; but his son was with this war party, and was so severely wounded that he required to be carried home. For some time he was not expected to live, but now seems likely to recover. Among the few articles found within the Ojibway fortification after the battle was an old portfolio, which contained some specimens of writing and an English tract or sermon entitled, "Living or Dead, by Rev. J. C. Ryle." As this tract was published by the Protestant Episcopal Society, New York, it is fair to presume that the owner may have been a pupil in Mr. Breck's school.[98] The chirography is very good. The copies are in the English language. The only name that appears is Mr. Jones.

About the time the last-mentioned expedition was returning, the party went out from Lac qui Parle with the results indicated in the commencement of this paper. Others went out from Big Stone Lake, a second one from our vicinity, but have come back unsuccessful.

A second war party from the Mdewakanton villages, which went about the middle of March and returned about the first of April, brought in three scalps. They found the Ojibways up near

[98] The Reverend James Lloyd Breck, a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, established a school on the shore of Gull Lake in 1852, which later became known as the St. Columba Mission House. Four years later the Pillager Indians requested him to build a station among them, and, accordingly, he founded a mission at Leech Lake, but was forced to abandon it after eight months on account of threats of personal violence. Riggs, in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 6: 161–163.

Long Prairie. Another expedition is reported as having been made from their camp down among the white settlements near Red Wing, which resulted, it is said, in taking two more scalps. Thus, since last autumn, the Spirit Lake bands of Dakotas have killed in this guerrilla warfare seven, and the Leaf-shooters, three Ojibways.

The last item of intelligence on this head has just reached us from the northwest. Beyond the Coteau des Prairies, on one of the upper tributaries of the James River, a Sisseton family was returning home from the region of Devil's Lake in advance of the main party. Three Ojibway men and one woman came down the stream in a bark canoe. They met and fraternized, smoked, ate, and lay down to sleep. The Ojibways arose and killed the man and his wife and two small children; a large boy, who was taking care of the horses, escaped.

"For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood."

HAZELWOOD, MINNESOTA

EAGLE HELP[99]

[*Minnesota Free Press,* July 14, 1858]

It has been a mooted question whether Wamdeokeya means to help the eagle, or talk with the eagle. It certainly is one of the two; for *wamde* is the royal eagle, and the verb *okeya* means to help or to speak with, according as the accent is thrown on the penultimate or antepenultimate. But without deciding the question in one way or the other, I may be permitted to use the name by which the man is commonly known.

Eagle Help is our Indian doctor, using the term as it is commonly understood among the white people. Not simply in the sense that his patients are usually Indians; and not at all in the sense of conjurer or powwow, for he never practiced in that way; but in the sense of a root doctor. He is now a man nearly, if not quite, sixty years of age; his eyes are dim and his head is

[99] Other accounts of Eagle Help are to be found in S. W. Pond Jr., *Two Volunteer Missionaries among the Dakotas,* 93, 94, 99, 104; Riggs, *Mary and I,* 53–55, and *Gospel among the Dakotas,* 223.

silvered over with gray hairs. But his step is brisk, and his medical practice is so extensive that he has no time to attend to anything else, not even for attending church, except perhaps once or twice a year. Medicine is said to be preëminently an art, and not a science, but there are nevertheless scientific principles connected with the art which all the disciples of Æsculapius should understand. But whatever claims Eagle Help had to be ranked among the members of that honorable and responsible profession, it is as a practitioner of the art and not a professor of the science.

The first epistle or letter in the Dakota language is said to have been written by Wamdeokeya. I have heard him narrate with a good deal of enthusiasm the events of that first winter after the commencement of the mission at Lac qui Parle. It was the winter of 1835-36. Previous to that time Eagle Help and his wife, Silver Woman, and their children, had not been living at the Lake-that-speaks. But on hearing that a *Wechashtawakan,* or sacred man, and he a *Pazhehootawechasta,* or grass-root man too, had come and was teaching them letters, he pitched his tent there, desiring, as he says, to know what these things meant. But as they had raised no corn and had nothing to eat, he was obliged to be absent most of the time hunting food for his family; nevertheless he learned to make the characters, and then commenced forming words out of them; when suddenly the first idea of utility entered his mind. And when out that spring on one of his hunting excursions, he wrote a letter in which he related how the Great Spirit heard his prayer and caused ice to form on a lake during the night that he might walk over dry shod in the morning.

In those days Eagle Help had two wives who were sisters. The marrying of sisters is quite common among the Dakotas. Frequently one man, by taking the eldest daughter in a family, becomes entitled to all the rest as they become marriageable, as in the case of the present Little Crow. The general opinion is that sisters agree better than women who are brought up in different families. In the later part of the winter of 1839 the younger of Eagle Help's wives died. And what will a man do when his wife dies? True, he has one left, but still he is sad for all that. If whiskey were to be had, he might seek to drown his sorrow in that which intoxicates. Many a one who passes for

a white man does so. Or he may divert himself at the gaming table. Many an Indian does that also. Or he may leave his desolate hearthstone and travel into foreign lands. The Dakotas too have this failing and this custom also. On such an occasion it has been very common for a man to make a path to the enemy's country. He gathers up the clothes and trinkets of the dead one and distributes them when they have reached the land of the Ojibways.

Before he starts, however, as the leader of a war party, he makes *wakan*. He brings himself into communication with the spirits of the dead, who, in dream or in vision, tell him where and how he may find his enemies. He gathers his war party. He prepares his weapons of war, his gun, his arrows, his spear, his battle axe, and his scalping knife. He does not forget his bundle of grass roots. He prays to it. He makes an armor feast, where the young men who have enlisted for the campaign consecrate their war weapons. There they sing and pray and cry—yea, cry with a deep and bitter cry—to the Great Spirit to make their weapons sacred, by helping them to bathe them in the blood of their enemies. There, too, they renew their war covenant, the *wohdooza*. They make their vows not to eat such and such parts of an animal, from which oath they are only liberated by killing Ojibways. For among the Dakotas a man frees himself from restraint and places himself above law by killing enemies.

We have said that a wife of Eagle Help died. So, as his heart was bad, about corn planting time in the summer of 1839, he and his brothers made up a war party of some thirty young men to make a path to the Ojibway country. Dr. Williamson had gone to Ohio to have printed certain portions of the Bible, which had been translated into the Dakota language. Mr. G. H. Pond had left also. So, but poorly initiated into the Dakota language, we were left there to teach the Dakotas truth and righteousness. We felt it to be our bounden duty to oppose this war party and prevent its going out if possible. And we did this the rather because it was made up of men who had learned to read and had listened to us as we tried to teach them to love their enemies. But it was soon manifested that they had not learned the lesson. They were not to be coaxed or reasoned out of their expected Ojibway scalps. With more zeal perhaps than knowledge, among

other things we said, or thought we said, "We will pray to the Great Spirit that you may not kill any Ojibways." We were reported to have said, "We will pray that you may be killed by Ojibways." They wanted some ground corn to take with them, and Eagle Help applied to Mr. Huggins to grind it on our horse-mill. Mr. H. said to him, "The Ojibways are my brothers, and I can't assist you in killing them." So saying, he locked up the mill and put the key in his pocket. Eagle Help was very angry, and afterwards told Mr. Huggins that if he had not been restrained by the teachings of the Bible, he would then and there have killed him.

These things made them all feel badly, and they could obtain satisfaction for the wrong done them, as they thought, only by killing the mission cattle. Accordingly, just before starting they killed two cows for us, and wounded several others. This gave them a present supply of provisions for the way. But they were more than a month gone, a long time. They suffered from hunger, and worst of all they found no enemies. The spirits had deceived them; we were praying against them. They returned in quite as bad humor as they went. The first news we had of their arrival was their killing another of our cattle. But we had rather they would dance over our cows killed than killed Ojibways.

After the bad feeling had somewhat subsided, the question arose about the right and wrong of these transactions. The leader of the war party acknowledged that killing our cattle was wrong, but we had committed a greater wrong in opposing and praying against them. This was not very clear to us. We had intended them no wrong, and we had not injured them in person or property. We had desired to keep them from shedding human blood, and thus treasuring up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath, but we could not make them see with our eyes.

While the controversy was still pending, Messrs. Nicollet and J. C. Fremont made their second visit to Lac qui Parle, coming over from the Missouri by Devil's Lake. They remained some ten days, made presents to the Indians, and, of their own accord, engaged with them to pay for their trespasses on the mission cattle. And they did so. That was Eagle Help's last war expedition. From that time he gave himself entirely to the cultivation of the arts of peace. He has worked in the field with his

wife, Silver Woman, and, as a consequence of their united industry, they have rarely been out of corn.

Near the close of the year 1839 our quondam war leader engaged to go up to the villages at Lake Traverse to teach. He continued only two months. In all he reported about twenty scholars, mostly young men, of whom three or four made such progress as to be able to read and write a little. At the commencement so few were willing to be taught that Eagle Help was about to give up the idea of teaching. Just then he was invited to a sacred feast, at which he took occasion to make the following speech, as reported by himself: "My friends, you make sacred feasts; you worship painted stones. Tell me what benefit you or your fathers have obtained from these practices. I have my father's medicine bag, and I am acquainted with all the Dakota customs, but I know of no good that comes to us from them. And now I have brought you the book, by means of which we may all become wise; but you will still choose to pray to painted stones." From that time, he says, the young men desired to learn. This was our first effort in employing native teachers. Since that time we have often employed them and with encouraging success.

Wamdeokeya we always found to be a good critic in his own language and a valuable assistance in correcting translations. Among an uneducated people with an unwritten language it will be supposed that the great mass of the community exercise their thoughts very little on matters of literary taste or judgment. Nevertheless there are found some minds so constituted that they can not help thinking about these things. By this means language is kept from running riot. Among the Dakotas who have made some progress in the way of education we find all sorts of taste in regard to language. As a general thing, in conversation they have accustomed themselves to use many expletives and suffixes which weaken rather than strengthen the expression. Wamdeokeya's judgment led him to cut off from the written language all such unnecessary additions. His taste and that of his eldest son, Henok, is severely simple. They admit nothing in writing but what is absolutely necessary to convey the idea clearly and forcibly.

My readers are already introduced to Eagle Help as a practitioner of the healing art. *Pazehoota,* or medicine, is with them

literally and truly grass roots. Many of the Dakotas grow up with some knowledge of roots. The little bundle that one sees hanging on a stake or tree before a Dakota tent in a fair day which goes by the imposing name of *wotawa,* or armor, contains, besides a spear, some old rags and some pounded grass roots. But their knowledge of such things is very limited. Eagle Help, having turned his attention almost exclusively to this business for many years past, must have made many additions to the Dakota pharmacopoeia. He says he prepares a great many valuable medicines himself. Besides these, he obtains from Doctors Williamson and Daniels[100] many of the more common preparations of the shops. With how much skill he applies these and others to the various cases of diseases, one of the medical faculty could testify better than myself. It can not be otherwise than that his practice should be open to the charge of empiricism. Under the circumstances he can not be supposed to have obtained any very extended and consistent ideas in regard to the latent causes and manifestations of diseases. In a vast number of cases he must necessarily treat symptoms, in doing which he is not alone. It won't do for a physician to confess ignorance. However much in the dark he may be in regard to a case, he must keep his doubts to himself, or convey his ignorance in Latin, which common people don't understand. This part of the practice I think Eagle Help has well learned; I do not mean that of talking Latin, but that of concealing his want of knowledge by talking learnedly.

It has been remarked by others that Wamdeokeya manifests much sagacity in perceiving when a favorable turn has taken place in a sick man, and then he shows so much skill in adding him to the list of his own patients. There is another thing which I have myself remarked; when his patient dies, there is generally some reason for it other than his want of ability to cure, either the medicine in which he trusted is used up or the physician himself is suddenly called away to another patient. It would hardly be fair to suppose that these events are not always accidental. But no one can blame a medicine man for discovering some adequate cause for the sudden lapse or death of his patient. It is natural.

[100] Dr. Asa W. Daniels was physician to the Lower Sioux at the Redwood Agency from 1854 to 1861. Asa W. Daniels, "Reminiscences of Little Crow," in *Minnesota Historical Collections,* 12: 513, 530.

I remember hearing an eminent physician tell an anecdote about another who was celebrated for finding causes for relapse or death outside of himself. He had visited a patient and predicted that he would be up in a few days. At his next call the poor man was dying. Looking round to find some cause for this unexpected change, he discovered a saddle under the bed. "Ah," said he, "it is no wonder the man is dying; you have made him eat a horse."

Dr. Eagle Help reports himself to have a very extensive practice. He is seldom without a patient, and he makes it somewhat profitable withal, for usually he obtains his pay beforehand. Still he complains that, although he does the genteel part of the work, he has no share in the fund appropriated by the Dakotas for that purpose. Within the past year he presented to Superintendent Cullen a paper largely signed by the principal men of the Wahpeton and Sisseton bands, asking that he might receive something from that fund in consideration of his eminent services among them.

There is one thing in particular in regard to which Eagle Help claims for himself and others claim for him a superiority in Dakota practice over white physicians. He is a Dakota, they say, and he knows what a Dakota stomach is and what it is required to do. But the decision of this question I leave to gentlemen of the medical profession.

It was only a few days ago when Dr. Eagle Help was here, and we discussed a physiological phenomenon of the Dakota sick. To bring the case out clearly I will state a fact. Many years ago when I was on a visit to a Dakota village of Wakootay at Red Wing, I called one morning to see a sick man. It was, I believe, a case of fever, and the conjurers had been powwowing over him and shooting the devil for a good many nights. The man was a stranger to me. But I had no sooner entered the tent where he lay than he seemed to be thrown into a violent pain and, with a great deal of earnestness, he said, "Send him home." Unconscious as I was of any evil feeling or any evil design some minutes elapsed before I understood that I was the offensive person. But all the while, presenting in his movements what seemed to be unmistakable signs of pain, he continued to repeat, "Send him home." I of course relieved him of my presence, and was informed that

no sooner had I left than he was again quiet and comparatively free from pain. I accounted for it by supposing that the sick man had formed an antipathy against me as the teacher of another religion and thinking I had come to talk with him on that subject, my presence threw him into a state of nervous excitement which produced pain.

Eagle Help mentioned a number of cases. He had experienced it himself. When sick many years ago, a certain individual coming in even for a moment caused in him bodily pain. I inquired if before his sickness some unpleasant circumstance had not occurred between himself and the individual to whom he had reference. He thought not. He then went on to relate the case of Mazamane's son, who last month was wounded in a battle with the Ojibways. For some time he was not expected to live. During this time a brother from the north visited him, but his presence gave the wounded man such pain that he was obliged to leave the tent immediately. Eagle Help can not explain the fact. As the question belongs to the physiology of pain, we may refer it to the college of physicians. Have white people any such experiences?

In conclusion, I may say I am the more desirous to do Eagle Help ample justice in this case because his entering the profession of *Pazhehootawechashta,* grass-root man, although his practice is empirical, has a more powerful tendency to root out the powwows than the practice of white physicians. And my desire is that men may be raised up from among themselves, who by their education and skill will properly take rank with the medical men of the world.

S. R. Riggs

Hazelwood, Minnesota

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Old Fort Snelling, 1819–1858. By MARCUS L. HANSEN. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918. xi, 270 p.)[1]

The history of Minnesota, from the beginning of American occupation to its organization as a territory in 1848 and, to a less extent, during the territorial period which closed in 1858, centers very largely around Fort Snelling. Any adequate account of the fort, therefore, must be a contribution to the history of the region in all its varied phases. It should be more than that, however; it should also add to our knowledge of the history of the frontier, of that process by which one region after another has been occupied by the expanding forces of the American nation and transformed from a wilderness to settled communities. Mr. Hansen's book possesses these qualifications. It was his purpose to write of Fort Snelling as an institution, as "a type of the many remote military stations which were scattered throughout the West"; and in this he has been successful. At the same time he has recounted in an entertaining manner many of the incidents and events that make up the content of Minnesota history.

The first three chapters outline the story of the region and the post from the French explorations to the attempted sale of the reservation in 1858. The remainder of the book, ten chapters, consists of essays on various phases of the history of the fort and of developments connected with it either directly or indirectly. The careers of the more important commanding officers are sketched, the fort itself and the surrounding region are described, and the routine of garrison life is vividly portrayed. The large part which the Indians played in the early history of the region comes out in chapters dealing with the work of the Indian agent, feuds between Chippewa and Sioux, the fur trade, missionary activities, and, finally, treaties for the cession of land. Another chapter is devoted to the visits of various distinguished people—explorers, writers, and tourists. The book concludes fit-

[1] Reprinted by permission, from the *American Historical Review,* 24:139 (October, 1918).

tingly with an account of the beginnings of civilian settlement in the region and the relations between settlers and soldiers. This topical arrangement results in a rather static treatment of the subject—the reader does not get an adequate impression of the development of the region as a whole during the period; but it helps, on the other hand, to bring out the character of the fort as an institution.

The author has consulted a large amount of material both manuscript and printed, and has used it, in general, with discrimination. Although marred by occasional grammatical slips, such as a singular verb with a plural noun and a pronoun without an antecedent, the style is spirited; and the book should have an appeal to the lay reader. The scholar, too, if he have patience to track the footnotes to their lair at the end of the book, will find much to assist him in further and more intensive research.

The book is attractively printed and bound, is indexed, and contains two illustrations. Its interest and usefulness might have been increased by reproductions of some of the contemporary maps of the reservation and the surrounding region and especially by the inclusion of a critical bibliography of the material consulted.

Solon J. Buck

Final Report of the International Joint Commission on the Lake of the Woods Reference. (Washington and Ottawa, 1917. 261 p. Illustrations)

Under provisions of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, January 11, 1909, the questions considered in this report were submitted on June 27, 1912, to an international joint commission by the governments of the United States and the Dominion of Canada. The report, dated June 12, 1917, treats of international regulation of the water level, by dams and other means, "in order to secure the most advantageous use of the waters of the Lake of the Woods and of the waters flowing into and from the lake on each side of the boundary for domestic and sanitary purposes, for navigation and transportation purposes, for fishing purposes, and for power and irrigation purposes, and also in order to secure the most advantageous use of the shores and harbors of the lake and of the waters flowing into and from the

lake." Accompanying this *Final Report* of the commission are the report of their consulting engineers, in three volumes, with an atlas consisting of forty-one maps, and a second report of about thirteen hundred pages, embodying testimony at public hearings of "the interested parties who desired to be heard upon the question of the use and control of the waters of the Lake of the Woods and its main tributary, Rainy River and Rainy Lake; and upon the question of the value of riparian lands which might be affected by the establishment of any proposed level for the Lake of the Woods." The *Report* itself is illustrated with fifty-four page plates, comprising sixty-nine views from photographs. It closes with a bibliography and a useful index. Minnesota readers will be the more interested in it because former Congressman James A. Tawney of Winona was one of the American members of the commission. To Lawrence J. Burpee, secretary to the commission for Canada, is due much of the credit for the historical sketch of the Lake of the Woods district.

The third part of the *Report* is a supplement, devoted to a description of the geography and history of the region, with details of the early exploration, the fur trade, the settlement by farmers, the development of its other large industries, such as lumbering, mining, and fisheries, its attractiveness to tourists and sportsmen, and the great value of the waterpower which is available on the Rainy and Winnipeg rivers. To Jacques de Noyon, a French Canadian *voyageur,* belongs the honor of being the first white man who is known to have traversed a part of the northern boundary of Minnesota. About the year 1687 he set out from Lake Superior by the canoe route of the Kaministiquia River with a party of Assiniboine Indians, in the hope of coming to the Sea of the West. He passed through Rainy Lake, called the Lake of the Crees, and wintered on a river flowing from it, the Takamaniouen, called Ouchichiq by the Crees, evidently the Koochiching or Rainy River, from which one of the newer counties of Minnesota is named. The following spring he descended the Rainy River to the Lake of the Woods, described the portages at the falls and rapids, and noted the differing character of the country on the left and right adjoining this lake. More than forty years later, in 1732, Veréndrye and his sons with a party

of soldiers and *voyageurs* built a trading post, named Fort St. Charles, on the south side of the narrow western bay or inlet of the lake, later known as the Northwest Angle, and thus set up the first habitation of white men on its shores.

From this date the Lake of the Woods region has an interesting history of Indian wars, boundary difficulties, white settlement, railroad construction, and industrial development at International Falls and Fort Frances on the Rainy River. Recently the falls of the Winnipeg River have been utilized to supply the electric power for the streetcar systems and industrial plants of Winnipeg, St. Boniface, and other neighboring towns of Manitoba.

WARREN UPHAM

Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika, 1843–1916. Compiled by REV. OLAF M. NORLIE and others. In two volumes. (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1918. 1087, 1126 p. Portraits, plates, text figures, statistical charts)

The Reverend O. M. Norlie and a number of assistants have brought together in this work an enormous amount of statistical material on the Norwegian Lutheran churches in America, and have presented it in usable form. After two introductory chapters on conditions in Norway "from which we came" and the establishment in the New World, the first volume takes up the organization of churches by states in chronological order, beginning with Illinois, where the first church was started in La Salle County in 1836. Within the state, the treatment is by county, according to date of establishment. Thirty-nine states are thus discussed in the work, as well as the Territory of Alaska and the District of Columbia. The four hundred pages devoted to a survey of the churches in Minnesota are of special interest to the people of this state. An analysis of the churches in Canada occupies nearly a hundred pages of the second volume.

Detailed information about each church is given on the following subjects: its name and location, the synod to which it belongs, the date of organization, the number of members, the names of its ministers with their dates of service, its affiliated societies and the money raised by each, the church property and its cost, the publications, and the salary paid to the minister. In some cases

a photographic reproduction of the present church building accompanies the sketch. The consolidation or separation of parishes is indicated by means of text charts. The heavy black lines used in many of these diagrams mar, however, the general appearance of the pages. Special county diagrams are used in many cases, also, to show the relationship of the parishes. A map giving the location of the churches and the synods to which they belong prefaces the discussion of the churches of each state. The reader is able by this means to determine the density of the Norwegian population in the various localities. It is to be regretted that an explanation of the symbols used does not appear on the first map, an omission which compels the user to work them out from the context.

Pages 492 to 678 of the second volume are devoted to elaborate statistical tables of parish reports, arranged chronologically by state, county, and place, which furnish a large amount of material for the study of the development of Norwegian communities. A short discussion of synodal problems and biographical sketches of prominent laymen conclude the work. The index is very elaborate, with sections arranged chronologically, geographically by state, and alphabetically, together with a list of the ministers of all the churches. On the whole the work must be considered a valuable contribution of material for the study of the Norwegian element in America.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK JR.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The delay in the appearance of this number of the BULLETIN has been due to circumstances beyond the control of the editor, principally to the ravages of the influenza.

The stated meeting of the executive council on October 14 was followed by an open session in the auditorium, at which a memorial address in honor of William G. Le Duc was presented by the Honorable Gideon S. Ives, president of the society. A paper entitled "The Preservation of Minnesota's War Records" was read by Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook, the society's field agent.

The following new members, all active, have been enrolled during the quarter ending October 31, 1918: Benjamin F. Beardsley and Frederick G. Leslie of St. Paul; Gisle Bothne of Minneapolis; and Harry McConnell of Walloon Lake, Michigan. The society has lost two members by death during the same period: Charles S. Hulbert of Santa Monica, California, and Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul.

The society has recently purchased a photostat by means of which it will be possible to secure for its library and manuscript department photographic copies of rare books, newspapers, or manuscript material, the originals of which are not obtainable. By this means, also, students engaged in research work in other institutions may be supplied with photographic copies of material in the possession of the society at a comparatively low cost.

The task of installing the museum collections was begun the first of September under the direction of the new curator, Miss Ruth O. Roberts, formerly assistant in the museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The material is being arranged into exhibits of educational value, and especial effort is being made to build up those departments that are incomplete. Records and indexes are being prepared which will render the collections available for study.

Miss Ilona B. Schmidt of the University of Chicago Library has been appointed head cataloguer on the staff of the society in place of Miss Marjorie Wildes; Miss Elsa R. Nordin of the New York State Library School, 1917–18, succeeds Miss Ada Nelson as catalogue assistant; and Mr. Willoughby Babcock Jr. of the University of Minnesota and Harvard University succeeds Miss Jeannette Saunders as editorial assistant.

Gifts

Through the courtesy of Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing, the society has been able to photostat a journal of an overland trip made by her father, Benjamin Densmore, in the fall of 1857 from St. Paul to Ottertail Lake by way of Little Falls and Long Prairie. The journal will be of especial interest to the student of early travel in the unsettled region of Minnesota. Mr. Densmore was a surveyor, and had charge of a part of the survey of the first railroad from St. Paul to Duluth, and also of one of the first roads out of Chicago. The survey chains and stakes which he used in surveying Faribault and Northfield, together with maps and plats of townships and other early surveys, have been presented to the society by his family.

Several valuable manuscripts, dated 1858 and 1859, relating to the extension of the electric telegraph to St. Anthony and Minneapolis, and to the opening of the Mississippi to navigation as far as St. Anthony Falls, have been added to the Kimball Papers by Mr. Edward J. Kimball of Minneapolis.

An interesting addition to the society's collection of Minnesota miscellany is a copy of a letter written by Alfred Sully from Fort Ridgely, May 28, 1855, donated by Mr. Henry McConnell of Walloon Lake, Michigan. Sully describes the general dissatisfaction of the Sioux bands and gives incidents of hostile movements, picturing at the same time the hardships of the life of a soldier on the frontier.

Mrs. E. C. Dougan of St. Paul has contributed three unique broadsides of the early sixties, two relating to the movements of the Sioux in the outbreak of 1862 and the third announcing the occupation of Savannah by General Sherman, December 26,

1864; also two letters to Henry H. Sibley: one written by Gideon H. Pond, Presbyterian missionary to the Sioux at Oak Grove, dated October 13, 1856; the other from Gabriel Franchère, the well-known explorer and fur merchant, dated February 18, 1856.

The society has received through the courtesy of Lieutenant Wayne E. Stevens a file of the *Weekly Bulletin* issued at the Thirty-fourth Division Headquarters, Camp Cody, Deming, New Mexico, from November 12, 1917, to August 17, 1918. The *Bulletin* supplies in outline a good deal of information as to the military routine and social and recreational work of a military training camp. It is of especial interest to Minnesotans because of the fact that the First, Second, and Third regiments of the Minnesota National Guard were in training at Camp Cody.

Mrs. L. R. Moyer of Montevideo has presented a collection of periodicals and pamphlets belonging to her late husband, who was for many years a member of the society. The bulk of the material is on botanical subjects; the remainder deals chiefly with civic problems.

The society has received from Mrs. A. R. Starkey of St. Paul a collection of books and maps belonging to her late husband. The greater part of the collection relates to Minnesota.

The Department of Minnesota, Grand Army of the Republic, has turned over to the society a collection of between five and six hundred numbers of *Proceedings* of encampments of the various departments throughout the United States.

The Orchestral Association of Minneapolis, through the courtesy of Mr. Carlo Fischer and Mr. Edmund A. Stein, has donated a set of programs of the concerts which have been given in the Twin Cities by the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. These comprise complete files of the program notes of the four seasons of symphony concerts in St. Paul, and of the Beethoven symphony, the popular (Sunday afternoon), and children's concerts in Minneapolis; and a nearly complete file of the fifteen seasons of the Minneapolis symphony concerts. These carefully compiled programs are valuable source material for the history of music in Minnesota.

Mr. B. F. Beardsley, who was secretary of the old St. Paul Chamber of Commerce from 1901 to 1904, has presented a large collection of newspaper clippings gathered for the most part from local publications during his incumbency of this office. The clippings, which fill eleven large pamphlet boxes, cover every conceivable subject that would be of interest to such an organization.

Mrs. Charles A. Wheaton of St. Paul has presented portraits of her husband and of her father, Dr. Jacob H. Stewart. Dr. Stewart came to St. Paul in 1855, and was prominent not only in his profession but in public affairs. From 1857 to 1863 he served as surgeon general of Minnesota. He was state senator in the legislative session of 1859–60, was four times elected mayor of St. Paul, in 1864, 1869, 1871, and 1873, and served one term (1877–79) as representative in Congress. Dr. Charles A. Wheaton came to Minnesota in 1861, and from 1877 practised medicine in St. Paul. From 1888 to 1902 he was professor of surgery in the University of Minnesota.

The portrait of John W. Cunningham has been added to the society's collection by his daughter, Miss Nellie Cunningham of St. Paul. Mr. Cunningham came to St. Paul in 1863; he was city editor of *St. Paul Daily Press* until 1866, and in 1868, associated with Harlan P. Hall and David Ramaley, he began the publication of the *St. Paul Dispatch*.

An addition to the historical picture collection is an early color print of Lake Como, given by Mrs. Albert Schuneman of St. Paul.

The Honorable Darwin S. Hall of Olivia has donated an extensive collection of Indian specimens secured during his term of service as commissioner of the White Earth Indian Reservation. Most of the material is Chippewa, though there are a few Sioux and Winnebago specimens. The collection contains splendid examples of beadwork, war clubs, and pipes, as well as many other objects illustrative of the life and habits of the Indians, and an interesting assortment of photographs of the chief characters among the Chippewa. A collection of badges and buttons of historical interest is also the gift of Mr. Hall.

The original Zouave uniform worn in 1861 by Lieutenant Francis A. Brownell, when he was a member of the famous regiment of Zouaves, the Eleventh New York Volunteer Infantry, has been donated to the museum by his stepdaughter, Mrs. Edgar B. Barton of St. Paul. Brownell avenged the death of the colonel of the regiment, Elmer E. Ellsworth, by killing his murderer, James W. Jackson, the proprietor of the Marshall House, Alexandria, from which Ellsworth had removed a Confederate flag.

John Bowe of Canby, who was the first man in Minnesota to enlist in the World War, has presented a number of articles which he brought from the trenches in France. Among them are a German helmet, a German canteen, a French helmet, a French soldier's poncho, and a "horizon blue" fatigue cap. A photograph of Mr. Bowe accompanied the collection.

Mrs. Alice Jerome of St. Paul has presented the sword used by her husband, Lieutenant Peter Jerome of Company E, Fourth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, during the Civil War, and a remnant of a Confederate regimental flag captured at the siege of Vicksburg.

The small number of specimens in the museum relating to the American Revolution has been increased by the gift of a powder flask and a sword handle from Mr. Eric K. Leen of Montevideo.

NEWS AND COMMENT

In order that the records of Minnesota's participation in the World War may be collected and preserved as a permanent memorial to the war services of Minnesota soldiers and civilians, and as sources of information for the future historian of the state, the Commission of Public Safety has created a body called the Minnesota War Records Commission. Governor Burnquist has appointed the following as members of the commission: Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, chairman; Mrs. Marie Brick, librarian of the St. Cloud Public Library; the Reverend William Busch, professor of history in St. Paul Seminary; Charles W. Henke, publicity director of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety; Dr. John D. Hicks, professor of history in Hamline University; Herschel V. Jones, publisher of the *Minneapolis Journal;* the Honorable Gideon S. Ives, president of the Minnesota Historical Society; Walter F. Rhinow, adjutant general; Dr. Lester B. Shippee, professor of American history in the University of Minnesota; Dr. Eugene W. Bohannon, president of the Duluth State Normal School; Willis M. West of Grand Rapids, formerly professor of history in the University of Minnesota; and Gustaf Lindquist, the governor's secretary. The Commission of Public Safety also appropriated one thousand dollars toward defraying the expenses of the undertaking.

The new commission met on October 29 in the office of the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society to organize and to formulate plans. The course of action decided upon embodies the following main features: first, that the commission collect and preserve all available records (using that term in its broadest sense) which relate to Minnesota's participation in the war and to the course of life in Minnesota during the war; second, that county representatives be secured throughout the state for the purpose of assisting the commission in this work, and that the building-up of county or local collections be encouraged; and, third, that the material collected by or for the commission be

deposited, as it accumulates, in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. Franklin F. Holbrook, field agent of the historical society, was appointed director of the work of the commission.

The papers of John Hubbard Tweedy, who was the delegate from Wisconsin Territory in Congress from September, 1847, to the admission of the state in June, 1848, have recently been acquired by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The territory included the part of Minnesota between the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers, and the contest over the location of the boundary in this region is one of the important episodes of early Minnesota history. An account of the Tweedy Papers in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September states that "possibly the most interesting of the delegacy letters are those relating to the northwest boundary of the incoming state. The enabling act had named the present St. Croix boundary, but the second Constitutional Convention expressed a preference for a line along Run [*Rum*] River, and Tweedy was charged to present this request to Congress. The acceptance of this line would have made St. Paul and Minneapolis a part of Wisconsin. Letters pro and con from the inhabitants of the district, and from pioneers of Prairie du Chien are among the papers. The Antis had the most influence on Congress, and the St. Croix line was made the boundary." It should be noted that only the parts of St. Paul and Minneapolis on the east side of the Mississippi would have been included in Wisconsin had the proposed boundary been accepted.

Mrs. Frances F. C. Preston, formerly Mrs. Grover Cleveland, is asking that friends of President Cleveland who may have "published addresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents connected with his life," communicate with Mr. William Gorham Rice, 135 Washington Avenue, Albany, or New York State Capitol, Albany. All such material sent will be acknowledged, and returned if desired. Mr. Rice, who was a secretary to Governor Cleveland at Albany, and closely associated with him after 1882, expects to commence a biography of him during the coming year. The Cleveland col-

lection will be deposited ultimately in the New York State Library at Albany.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1916–17 (volume 9, part 2, pp. 207–320) contains an account of the annual meeting of the association held in Chicago, April 26–28, 1917, by Beverley W. Bond Jr., minutes of business transacted, the report of the secretary-treasurer, and six of the papers read at the sessions. Of special interest to students of the history of the upper Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes region is the paper by Wayne E. Stevens entitled "Fur Trading Companies in the Northwest, 1760–1816." Two of the other papers are "Pageantry Possibilities," by Bernard Sobel, and "Possibilities in State Historical Celebrations," by Harlow Lindley.

One of the most important chapters in the history of railway transportation in Minnesota is ably treated by Dr. Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota in a paper entitled "The First Railroad between the Mississippi and Lake Superior," appearing in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. Beginning his study with a brief review of the measures taken by the territorial government of Minnesota to secure adequate rail communication with eastern markets and with a survey of the conditions which made the construction of a road from the Mississippi to Lake Superior increasingly urgent during the Civil War period, Dr. Shippee proceeds to a discussion of the obstacles which were encountered in obtaining the land grants, both state and federal, which would ensure the securing of the necessary capital. "Opposition within the state took the form of local jealousy and strife for precedence," notably between the neighboring communities, St. Paul and Minneapolis and St. Anthony; "far more vigorous and menacing was the hostility of the Wisconsin roads which had no desire to see a considerable portion of their traffic diverted from Lake Michigan to Lake Superior over the rails of a road which must enter into competition with their hitherto uncontested monopoly." The history of the negotiations which continued throughout the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress (1863–64), resulting in the authorization of a grant of federal lands "to the State of Minnesota for the purpose of aiding in the construction of [a] railroad from the city

of St. Paul to the head of Lake Superior," and of the subsequent struggle in the Minnesota Legislature, which ended in the passage of a bill conferring the congressional grant on the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, is full of interest. Much of the information was drawn from the papers of William P. Murray of St. Paul, who spent some time in Washington in the interests of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company, and of Ignatius Donnelly, who was representative in Congress from Minnesota from 1863 to 1869. Both these collections are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

In an article entitled "Social Work at Camp Dodge," published in the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Dr. Fred E. Haynes of the State University of Iowa describes in detail "social work as it has developed in military training camps in the United States." The activities of the various organizations in charge of the social, educational, and recreational work at Camp Dodge, near Des Moines, Iowa, during the spring and summer of 1918, when the Eighty-eighth Division of the National Army, composed of men from Iowa, Minnesota, and North and South Dakota, were in training, form the basis of the study. The same article, in abridged form, is also issued as the October number of *Iowa and War.*

Edwin O. Wood's *Historic Mackinac: The Historical, Picturesque, and Legendary Features of the Mackinac Country* (New York, 1918. 697, 773 p.) is an attempt to bring together for the benefit of the casual reader rather than the historical student a vast amount of material about a region of rare interest. The first volume is a narrative history of old Mackinac during three centuries of French, English, and American occupation. The second volume is devoted to extracts from the writings of Henry R. Schoolcraft, Thomas L. McKenney, Harriet Martineau, and other travelers, assembled without critical comment. The volumes are attractive in appearance and are enriched by numerous maps and illustrations. The second volume contains an extensive and valuable bibliography (pp. 681–740), and an adequate index.

A recent contribution in the field of economics is Ivan L. Pollock's *History of Economic Legislation in Iowa,* published by

the State Historical Society of Iowa in its *Iowa Economic History Series* (1918. x, 386 p.). Defining economic legislation as including those measures which are enacted through economic, as distinct from ethical, social, or political, considerations, Mr. Pollock reviews the historical development of this class of legislation in a typical middle-western state, and shows the increasing tendency of state governments "to extend their activities into fields" which formerly were "left to unregulated individual initiative."

The historian as well as the ethnologist and the musician will find much valuable material in Frances Densmore's *Teton Sioux Music* (Washington, 1918. 561 p.), issued as number 61 of the *Bulletins* of the Bureau of American Ethnology. A companion volume to numbers 45 and 53 of the same series, it continues among the Sioux the analytical study of Indian music which the writer commenced among the Chippewa. The present volume contains tabulated analyses of six hundred songs, including the Chippewa songs previously published. Most of the others were recorded among the Indians belonging to the Teton division of the Sioux on the Standing Rock Reservation in North and South Dakota; a few were recorded among the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux at Sisseton, South Dakota. Included in the descriptive analyses there is considerable information in regard to the legends, ceremonies, and customs of these tribes.

Sections seven and eight of the second volume of *Danske i Amerika,* a work dealing with the history of Danish immigration to America, have been recently issued (Minneapolis, C. Rasmussen Company, 1918. Pp. 385–512). They contain chapters on the Danish settlements in Douglas, Morrison, Lincoln, Lyon, and Pipestone counties.

Clarence R. Aurner has issued Book Two of his graded school series, *Iowa Stories* (Iowa City, 1918. 174 p.). The governmental and economic progress of the state from the time of its organization is simply and clearly discussed. Numerous illustrations and outline maps add to the attractiveness of the book.

The *Western Architect* for September contains an article on "Architecture in the Twin Cities of Minnesota," by Robert Craik McLean. One section is devoted to favorable comment and de-

scription of the Minnesota Historical Building. Two full-page plates giving exterior and interior views, together with a smaller photograph of the State Capitol and the Historical Building, accompany the article.

The *Western Magazine* for August contains as number eight of its series of "State Builders of the West" a sketch of "Cushman K. Davis, Seventh Governor of Minnesota." In the July number M. J. Cort, known throughout the Northwest as the organizer of the coöperative creamery movement, began an interesting contribution to the economic history of the state under the title, "Developing the Creamery Industry."

The September *Bulletin* of the Affiliated Engineering Societies of Minnesota (St. Paul) contains the first installment of a valuable and exhaustive bibliography on the "Improvement of the Upper Mississippi River," prepared by Miss Winifred Gregory of the St. Paul Public Library.

Soløringen is the title of a Norwegian bimonthly magazine, the first number of which appeared in August. It is published in the interests of the Solørlag under the editorship of Marius Hagen of Minneapolis and Madison.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, and the Sauk County Historical Society on September 2 conducted an historical pilgrimage to Portage, Wisconsin, the site of old Fort Winnebago, established in 1828 on the Fox-Wisconsin portage. It was over this portage that Perrot, Le Sueur, Carver, and other early explorers made their way into the region that is now known as Minnesota, and over the same route Duluth and Hennepin journeyed eastward in 1680 after visiting the upper Mississippi. A souvenir folder, which was published for the occasion, contains a short historical sketch of the portage and a photographic facsimile of an oil painting of the fort as it appeared in 1834.

The Fort Ridgely State Park and Historical Association commemorated the fifty-sixth anniversary of the Sioux outbreak of 1862 by appropriate exercises at the park grounds on August 22.

The Illinois Society of the Twin Cities held its annual picnic at Minnehaha Park on August 10. The society is composed of former residents of Illinois.

Attention should be called to a misstatement which was made on page 288 of the November, 1917, number of the BULLETIN to the effect that Hans Christian Heg was the founder of the *Nordlyset,* the first Norwegian paper published in America. The *Nordlyset* was established by three men: James D. Reymert, who became its editor, and Even Heg, father of Hans, and Søren Bache, who financed the undertaking.

Mr. Jacob C. Walters of Minneapolis, who was a merchant at Bushnell, Illinois, during the Civil War, is the author of three timely articles. Two of them, appearing in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 21 and in the *Twin City Commercial Bulletin* for August 27, respectively, contain valuable data on the war-time merchandise prices of 1861–65 as compared with those of 1918, the former taken from original invoices in his possession. The third paper, in the *Bushnell Record* of May 17, treats of the methods of raising troops during the Civil War both by enlistment and by draft; some of the defects and weaknesses of the draft legislation of 1863, which the framers of the act of 1917 so carefully avoided, are pointed out.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of September 29 contains an interesting sketch by Charles M. Flandrau entitled "Some Glimpses behind Scenes at St. Paul Benefit Fetes of Other War Days." After describing various social functions of territorial days, the writer gives an account of the Sanitary Fair held in the winter of 1864–65 as a means "of raising money with which to supply various comforts to the soldiers of the Northern army."

An extended account of the first massacres of the Sioux outbreak of 1862 in the township of Acton, Meeker County, is included in an article entitled "Awards to Minnesota for Indian Depredations Recall Early Massacres" in the August 11 issue of the *Minneapolis Journal.* In the same article is also given the story of the murder of John Cook and his wife of Audubon Township, Becker County, in April, 1872, by Chippewa Indians.

The *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, in its issue of September 7, began the publication of a series of sketches by Mrs. Jeannette Robert Lamprey on the early history of St. Paul. The writer touches upon a number of interesting social and political events of a bygone day, and shows the gradual change from a frontier community to a large modern city.

The *Rochester Daily Post and Record* for August 22 publishes an interesting paper by Charles C. Willson on the probable cause and origin of the Rochester cyclone of 1883. The paper was read before a gathering of Rochester business men on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the disaster. By a curious coincidence the town of Tyler, Lincoln County, was practically destroyed by a tornado during the delivery of the address.

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TO THE

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ERRATA

Page 104, line 18, for *G. E. Knapp,* read *G. B. Knapp.*
—— 196, line 28, for *I. Kimball,* read *J. Kimball.*
—— 286, line 2, and page 289, line 25, for *McCleod,* read *McLeod.*
—— 371, line 17, for *Kirki,* read *Kirke.*
—— 415, line 4, for *Havlor,* read *Halvor.*
—— 423, line 2 of note 14, for *Awagmannee,* read *Anagmannee.*
—— 465, line 7, for *Fahrenlock,* read *Fahrenbach.*
—— 477, line 10, for *Joe,* read *Jo.*

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